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28 November 1983

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1482

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INTERNATIONAL

TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA PUBLISHES JOURNALIST'S AFGHAN DIARY

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 12,13,14 Jul 83

[Article by Rakhim Esenov: "From an Afghan Notebook"; passages rendered in all capital letters appear in boldface in source]

[12 Jul 83 p 3]

[Text] THE SKIES ABOVE OUR SILVERY AIRLINER HAD BEEN JUST AS BLUE AT DAWN AS 18 YEARS AGO, AS WE WERE APPROACHING KABUL. NEARBY LIE THE SAME VIOLET-WHITE MOUNTAINS SPREAD OUT LIKE A SPANISH FAN, THE SAME WHITE-TOPPED SUMMITS OF THE HINDUKUSH WHICH WILLY-NILLY DREW ALL PASSENGERS TOWARD THE PORTHOLES. THE FIRST TIME I HAD BEEN FLYING TO WITNESS THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE MOTOR HIGHWAY ACROSS THE HINDUKUSH BUILT WITH SOVIET AID, IN MY CAPACITY AS A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF 'PRAVDA' ACCOMPANYING A GOVERNMENT DELEGATION HEADED BY ALEKSEY NIKOLAYEVICH KOSYGIN; NOW I AM FLYING TO ATTEND THE OPENING OF THE HOUSE OF SOVIET SCIENCE AND CULTURE, AS A MEMBER OF A SOVIET DELEGATION HEADED BY ZINAIDA MIKHAYLOVNA KRUGLOVA, CHAIRPERSON OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIETIES FOR FRIENDSHIP AND CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES (SSOD), MEMBER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND DEPUTY TO THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET.

NOW I AM AGAIN IN KABUL. MUCH HAS CHANGED IN THOSE 18 YEARS ON THE ANCIENT SOIL OF AFGHANISTAN, WHICH IS LIVING THROUGH ITS SECOND YOUTH: BY THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE AND ITS BEST SONS AND DAUGHTERS, THE APRIL REVOLUTION WAS ACCOMPLISHED HERE NOT SO LONG AGO. THE POWER OF THE USURPERS--OF THE ROYAL CAMARILLA, THE DAOUD REGIME AND THE TRAITOR AMIN, HAS VANISHED INTO THIN AIR. WINDS OF FREEDOM BEGAN TO BLOW OVER THIS MUCH-SUFFERING LAND.

THE MOMENT I STEP ONTO THE STAIRS OUTSIDE I NOTICE THE MODERN AIRPORT TERMINAL--IT HAD NOT BEEN THERE PREVIOUSLY; IT AROSE IN PLACE OF UNSIGHTLY LOW STRUCTURES. I RECALL HOW 18 YEARS AGO THE HIGH GOVERNMENT DELEGATION HAD BEEN WELCOMED ON THE SAME AIRPORT. NOT A SINGLE WOMAN WAS PRESENT IN THE WELCOMING GROUP. AFTERWARD I HAD TOURED MANY OF THE COUNTRY'S CITIES AND ATTENDED GOVERNMENT RECEPTIONS, BUT I SAW NOWHERE ANY AFGHAN WOMAN WITH AN UNVEILED FACE; ONLY FIGURES OF WOMEN BEARING THE "CHADRY," DARK CLOTHS COVERING THEM FROM HEAD TO TOE, COULD BE SEEN ONLY RARELY AND FROM AFAR. IN KANDAGAR OR HERAT I HAD BEEN SHOWN FROM AFAR A PARK FOR WOMEN ONLY AND WAS NOT EVEN PERMITTED TO APPROACH IT. ON CERTAIN HOURS ONLY WIVES OF RICH MEN WALKED IN THAT PARK, AND WITHOUT MALE COMPANY AT THAT.

NOW 18 YEARS LATER WE, TOGETHER WITH ABDULLAH MADZHID SARBOLAN, MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN [PDPA], FIRST

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE DRA [DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHAN], FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE AFGHAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY, WERE WELCOMED BY DJAMILA BARBIALAY, RESPONSIBLE SECRETARY OF THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN DRA, SHAFIKA RAZMENDA, RESPONSIBLE SECRETARY OF THE 'AFGHANISTAN-USSR' FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY AND GIRLS WEARING EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL COSTUMES WHO HANDED US BOUQUETS OF FLOWERS.

PREVIOUSLY A DESERT HAD STRETCHED JUST BEYOND THE AIRPORT, BUT NOW THE LAND IS PLANTED WITH TREES AND BUILT UP WITH LOVELY COTTAGES AND RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS FABRICATED AT THE KABUL HOUSE BUILDING COMBINE, WHICH WAS BUILT WITH SOVIET AID.

ALL THESE ARE ONLY THE EXTERNAL STRIKING CHANGES. WE NOTICED AND FELT AT EVERY STEP THAT PROFOUND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES HAD ALSO TAKEN PLACE IN THE AFGHAN SOCIETY. MY TALE DEALS WITH THEM.

#### At the Friendship Society

Even before Kabul awakens, the coming of dawn is heralded by the prayers of the muezzin resounding throughout the city.

After breakfast we were met in the lobby by a girl wearing an elegant black jacket. We had already met her earlier: it was Shafika Razmenda, who turned out in addition to be an assistant to Anakhita Ratebzad, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PDPA.

"You are invited to see comrade Ratebzad"--Shafika spoke Russian fluently. This is not surprising since she is a graduate of the Odessa Medical Institute and spent nearly 7 of her almost 25 years of life in the Soviet Union. "It's not far from here."

Vladimir Dmitriyevich Lygin, a member of our delegation and the head of the Department for Countries of the Near and Middle East, SSOD, did not conceal his admiration: "Your Russian is excellent."

Shafika smiled: "It's my duty and my passion. How can we strengthen the friendship of our peoples if we do not know this beautiful language?"

Ten minutes later the car we rode in approached a small cozy-looking two-storey house where we were joyously met by Anakhita Ratebzad.

Even before arriving in Kabul we had heard a lot about Anakhita Ratebzad, that brave woman and courageous revolutionary whom the young and the old call "our doctor Anakhita." She is one of those who had stood at the cradle of the April Revolution. She received her secondary medical education in the United States and her medical degree at the University of Kabul, where she had taught for many years. She was an envoy to Yugoslavia and now, as a member of the Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee, she directs the activities of four large ministries and state committees, not counting her work as the leader of the Democratic Organization of the Women of Afghanistan, the Afghan-Soviet Friendship Society and the Afghan Committee for Solidarity, Peace and Friendship.

Doctor Anakhita led us to the second floor, stepping ahead energetically. We entered a room whose walls were covered with bookcases containing books whose titles included Soviet works translated into the Dari, Pushtu, Farsi, English and French languages, as well as Russian-language books. This was the library. Adjoining it are a reception room and office of the chairperson of the Soviet-Afghan Friendship Society. On one wall hangs a large map decorated with small flags marking construction projects built on Afghan soil. Two hundred and fifty industrial facilities have started operating since the beginning of the April Revolution, and nearly all of them were built with Soviet aid.

Anakhita said: "This is where friends of the Soviet Union gather. Prior to the April Revolution the "Afghanistan-USSR" Society had existed only on paper. Now we have set up more than 200 rooms of friendship with the USSR at enterprises, in schools and within army sub-units, to familiarize Afghans with the Soviet way of life and tell the truth about the multi-national republics of the Soviet Union."

The conversation flowed in an unconstrained atmosphere. The new House of Soviet Science and Culture was naturally mentioned. The Afghans call it the House of Friendship. It is indeed an international project. The building was designed by a Cypriot architect and erected under the guidance of Afghan and Soviet engineers, with the hands of Kabul workers and technicians. The walls of this cultural center were built of Afghan granite, and the furnishings were provided by the USSR and other socialist countries. When experts were needed for this project, the government of the DRA had, regardless of the difficulties, exempted from army service the 200 Afghan engineers and skilled workers engaged in this project.

Anakhita Ratebzad said excitedly: "How else? After all, this is our common house of friendship. This is the house of our ideals, the house where the the Afghan people's dream of friendship and brotherhood with the Soviet peoples is becoming reality. Only friends in need are friends indeed. In December 1979 when we, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government of the DRA, turned for help to the USSR, a friendly helping hand was extended toward us. How can this ever be forgotten? What a pity that I can't express my feelings in Russian, although I understand a lot of that language without an interpreter. I am ready to swap for Russian my knowledge of the two languages--English and French--in which I had studied. I am studying it, but it is extremely complex, more difficult than most other languages...."

Zinaida Mikhaylovna Kruglova answered: "Thank you for praising our Russian language. Knowledge of any language is a priceless possession. We are aware that you, dear Anakhita, had recently delivered in Lisbon an eloquent speech in English rebutting those who attempt to heap calumnies on Afghanistan and its democratic government...."

Anakhita Ratebzad smiled pensively, apparently recalling her recent trip to the representative session convened by the World Peace Council. And indeed, the Japanese delegate had parroted the shopworn fabrications of bourgeois propaganda, distorting the nature of the people's revolution in Afghanistan. And Anakhita Ratebzad refuted his fabrications in the manner they deserved. Her speech exceeded the time limit. The chair tried to remind her of this, but the audience supported the speaker. Instead of 10 minutes, Anakhita talked for

50. The participants in the forum applauded tumultuously her fiery and convincing speech, and the Japanese delegate was shamed and did not even venture to rebut any of his opponent's statements.

Subsequently we descended to the first floor, to a small auditorium designed to hold 200 persons. It was full, with nearly half of the audience consisting of bare-headed women and girls, many wearing European clothing.

We were witnessing a meeting of the Afghan-Soviet Friendship Society. Representatives of workers, farmers, the intelligentsia and women took the floor. They all spoke about their most cherished aspiration. But even before they started speaking, at the moment the meeting began Anakhita told us:

"You'll meet simple people and personally experience the warmth of their hearts. They may not speak eloquently, but their words come from their hearts. The Afghan has one desire: to live in peace and friendship with all nations...."

This was indeed so. I sat in the first row, whence I could see the eyes of the speakers--and eyes are, as a wise man has said--the mirror of the human soul. Their eyes were in accord with their utterances.

#### Meeting With Babrak Karmal

"Arg"--the Palace Grounds--is how Afghans call the former royal residence. Eighteen years ago I had first passed through its gates and now it was not without feeling somewhat stirred that I returned to this place, which now houses the DRA Revolutionary Council. What a legitimate finale, the happy fate of all palaces and kremlins, which sooner or later become the property of the people.

The guard detail is aligned just as uniformly as it had been 18 years ago, but now the officers and the soldiers wear different uniforms. The pyramid-shaped poplars and leafy gudzhum elms are just as they had been 18 years ago, except that they have grown notably taller and broader. The same beautiful decorated palace doors, hallway, spiral staircase leading to the spacious reception room of comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council.

Ascending to the second floor, I unwittingly thought of the man whom I was about to meet. The revolution has always crystallized new talents and promoted the emergence of principled best sons and daughters of the people. I was told that, while serving as a parliamentary deputy and carrying out his party's assignments, Babrak Karmal had utilized that legal tribune to unmask the anti-national policy of the royal treasury-robbers and the reactionary Daoud regime. As always, he was passionate, bold and convinced in his activities.

Anakhita Ratebzad recalled: "Our devotion to the revolution, to the people, has passed the test of time and was tested by our separation from the homeland. After all, essentially, we had been sent into an honorable exile, far from the people so that we would not influence politics, affairs of the party and state. I was exiled to the post of envoy in Yugoslavia; Sarbolan,

to the post of Consul General in India; and Babrak Karmal, to the post of envoy to Czechoslovakia. And later, when the time to settle accounts had come and we did not let ourselves be lured back, Khafizulla Amin expelled us all from the party and stripped us of our duties and honors. But Amin had failed to consider the most important thing: he could not deprive us of our love for the homeland and faith in justice."

We were led to a large marble-pillared hall. Barely had we sat down in the deep chairs behind lovely small tables of colorful onyx, when comrade Babrak Karmal, known to us from portraits and television, strode in energetically through the open door. Of middle height, in a dark suit, a polka-dotted black tie and a white shirt starkly contrasting with his swarthy, large-featured and expressive face and white-streaked black hair. At first glance he looked extremely severe and fatigued, but he only had to smile and his large penetrating eyes shone with joy and hospitality.

A candid conversation started. Comrade Karmal asked about our first impressions of Kabul and described the situation in the country and the positive changes that took place during this new stage of the April Revolution, that is, following the overthrow and destruction of Amin, the enemy of the Afghan people.

Babrak Karmal declared: "The aggressive policy of Pakistan and its imperialist allies menacing the future of our country has forced us to turn for assistance to the Soviet Union. This was our sovereign right. The USSR, faithful to its internationalist duty, did not refuse to help us. Otherwise, free Afghanistan could not exist. And the limited contingent of Soviet troops that entered our country on our request will leave it as soon as we obtain guarantees for the safety of Afghan boundaries. But as yet the situation on our frontiers is not calm. Pakistan and its overseas patrons are using 80 camps and centers for the training of killers and saboteurs and dispatch into our country bandit gangs armed with American, English, French and Italian weapons and ammunition. Imperialism is using poisoned ammunition from its ideological arsenal against democratic Afghanistan, without recoiling from slanderous fabrications concerning Afghan-Soviet relations and deliberately distorting the real situation in our country."

Babrak continued: "But can a nation, a party, be destroyed once it understands the meaning of freedom? Through the will of the best sons and daughters of the people, of the revolutionary forces, the National Fatherland Front (NFF) of the DRA has been established. Working under the guidance of the PDPA, the Front unites broad strata of working people--workers, farmers, artisans, nomads, the intelligentsia, youth, women, democratic progressive and patriotic forces, and social and political organizations, all having a common goal, a united platform--the building of a new, free, progressive and democratic society. About 120 local NFF councils have been established in 24 provinces, 13 cities and 15 districts.

"This is without precedent in the entire history of Afghanistan. Trade union have been reestablished and working people participate in the management of production. The land and water reform is being successfully carried out. Machine and tractor stations have been established, telephone exchanges are operating, new schools are being built, and the network of medical services is being expanded. Don't forget that we have inherited a burdensome legacy: more



than 90 percent of the population are functionally illiterate. They all have to be taught to read and write....We have to begin everything from the scratch, as the saying goes.

"Our reliable base is the boys and girls belonging to the Democratic Organization of Youth. The Democratic Organization of the Women of Afghanistan also actively follows the party's policy and our armed forces--the faithful guardian of the revolution's conquests--have revived and gained strength."

Comrade Karmal concluded: "Afghanistan is a multinational country. We are nearly 20 million. We know that everywhere, in cities, provinces, districts, remote villages, even persons of little faith who stood aside waiting to see which side would win now all desire the same thing--peace, tranquility. People are tired of the machinations of the "basmachi" [counter-revolutionary "robber gangs"]. They see through the false assurances of the overseas 'defenders' of democracy and freedom who attempt to sow dissension among them and magnify differences among the nationalities. No such thing will happen! Our party and the DRA government will do everything to carry the truth about the revolution to the masses and unite nation even more firmly into a single family. Our guiding star is the Leninist nationality policy, the example of the Soviet Union, which has united hundreds of nations and nationalities into a single fraternal family."

[13 Jul 83 p 3]

[Text] Inside the House of Friendship

We hastened toward Darul-Aman, one of the most lively thoroughfares in the Afghan capital, where the opening of the House of Soviet Science and Culture was to be held. In the car I asked Shafika Razmenda about her life and doings and how she joined the revolution.

She said: "By the way, I also come from Ashkhabad, that is, from the village of Yshkhabad, which in Afghan means 'Ashkhabad.' It is in the province of Parvana."

Shafika's real name is Timuri, while Razmenda--which means "militant woman"--is her party pseudonym, which she received while in the underground from her party comrades. Her biography is both short and long. It all began when, while a young high school student, she became deeply outraged by a savage attack staged by reactionary "Moslem Brotherhood" when they poured acid over a woman who had dared to walk about without her veil. Shafika did not conceal her anger and drew attention to herself. This is how she found herself a member of the Democratic Organization of Women, working under the party's guidance, and how she began to fulfill the assignments of her organization.

The demonstrations that occurred near the building of the ministry of education, in the park of the Mosque of Zarnigar, were the beginning of her revolutionary activities. The demonstrators had demanded democratic changes in the country and the proscription of reactionary organizations. Shafika was declared a rebel and expelled from her high school. She was under the threat of being arrested and had to escape to Kandagar. Owing to the influence of Anakhita Ratebzad, among other things, she had joined the PDPA in 1972 and took an active part in party work, teaching girls and women to read and

recruiting them for membership in the Democratic Organization of Women, training them for revolutionary struggle. Upon the victory of the April Revolution she became one of the organizers of the Afghan-Soviet Friendship Society, assistant to a Politburo member and chairperson of the political indoctrination commission of the Central Council of the Democratic Organization of the Women of Afghanistan. In the summer of 1982, when a bandit gang headed by Ahmed Shah penetrated Afghan territory, Shafika Razmenda and 16 of her girl friends fought the bandits with automatic weapons and during pauses between combat she directed a medical station, helping wounded Afghan soldiers.

There was still some distance left to the House of Friendship. Shafika covertly glanced at her watch. If we are late, we will miss the opening. But a column of Afghan soldiers barred our road. The driver, leaning out of the window, asked that they let us pass as we were in a great hurry. The soldiers laughed and waved him to stop: "Nothing will happen. You'll have to wait." Then Shafika spoke to them: "Friends, we have guests, our Soviet friends...." The phalanx of soldiers parted and an officer saluted us amiably and led our vehicle out through the traffic jam.

We were in time. The unique edifice, unlike any other in the world, reflected the sun in the bright veins of its marble-onyx facade, proudly rising against the background of the gray mountains and clear sky. On the square in front of the House gathered a crowd of workers, builders, representatives of the intelligentsia, student youth, girls. Also present were comrade Keshtmand, member of the Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee and Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Anakhita Ratebzad, ministers, eminent public and political figures, representatives of the Afghan armed forces, diplomats accredited to the DRA government, and employees of the Soviet Embassy.

Zinaida Mikhaylovna Kruglova in her capacity as the host invited guests to inspect the House of Friendship. Having ardently thanked the Afghan builders, she declared:

"We hope that this House will also become a genuine methodological center for these 200 rooms of Afghan-Soviet friendship which operate to strengthen our cooperation and keep abreast of the life of our countries and peoples."

Anakhita Ratebzad answered: "This House is doubly cherished by us. First, because its every stone contains pearls of the sweat of its Afghan builders. Secondly, because we view this House as a good sign, as a manifestation of the sincere feelings of friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet people toward the Afghan nation."

This was followed by a brief meeting at which comrade Keshtmand spoke. Expressing the feelings of all those present, he concluded: "This is a house where the hearts get warmed, where goodness, humanism, everything that is bright and lofty, is being born."

"Djungalak"--the Firstling of Afghan Machine Building

Green jeeps, varicolored Mercedes, Volga, Niva and Zhigulets cars, yellow taxis and "Milleti BAS"--the "national buses"--scurried in a disorderly manner through crowded streets. Donkey-drawn carts rolled slowly, and heavily laden camels strode in an extremely dignified manner. Near the ministry of culture



and information we saw from our car the new "Sovetskaya kniga" [Soviet Book] bookstore, next to a privately owned Japanese radio and TV store and a store of the Phillips company selling tape recorders and electric razors. One's eyes were dazzled by the rainbow colors of the "dukany," which seemed to be everywhere, at every step, along straight and crooked streets, on attics, and even on the pavement.

We rode across the bridge spanning the Kabul River, lined by a tall granite parapet. Along the river banks women and men were washing linen, beating rugs and carpets and drying them on the rocks. On the other bank of the river clay-walled cottage houses extended as far as the foothills of the mountains. Along the road barefoot little boys chased each other in the autumn mud. All this poverty was a legacy of the past, of the emirs, kings and their insatiable minions who, riding around in luxurious Mercedes Benz cars, overlooked and deliberately ignored the plight of their people. The glitter of Italy, the loveliness of the Southern Alps, where they owned villas, overshadowed to them the poverty and misery of their own country.

Finally we reached the "Djanggalak" Automotive Repair Plant--the firstling of Afghanistan's machine building industry, sheltered in the yellowed greenery of orchards. Girl workers and the plant's director Muhammed Omar greeted us at the plant's gate with the words "Hosh amedil" (Welcome) and with bouquets of flowers.

We were invited to the Room of Friendship, where photographs and colorful display stands commemorate episodes in the history of the plant, this first and largest enterprise in the country, built 22 years ago with technical assistance from the USSR.

We met Nikolay Aleksandrovich Butsay, the leader of the group of seven Soviet experts at the plant, all of whom are engineers, and most of whom are from the "Rostsel'mash [Rostov Agricultural Machinery Plant]. The biography of the enterprise's director, too, is testimony to the ancient friendship between the two nations. More than 8 years ago Muhammed Omar graduated from the Moscow Institute of Steels and Alloys, worked as an engineer at the plant, went through on-the-job training at enterprises of the USSR, and now he heads this large collective, whose products are needed by the young republic.

Muhammed Omar reminisced: "Under the Daoud regime the plant was converted to making beds. Of course, expensive equipment began to be dismantled. Just then a Soviet manager came to this country and the Afghan experts complained to him about the ruinous nature of this decision. Of course this was a domestic matter of the Afghans themselves. This is what the Soviet expert told them, too, but at a high-level meeting he nevertheless became interested in finding out why the plant was abandoning its basic production.

He was told: "Crankshafts are difficult to manufacture."

The Soviet guest was incredulous: "During the war we made such crankshafts even under frontline conditions, under fire by the Fascists. But you have melting furnaces."

After that discussion the plant stopped producing beds.

En route to the repair shop Muhammed Omar said: "Until the revolution the plant belonged to a private company. Now it is nationalized and all income goes to the state. Its gross output is about 200 million Afghanis or nearly 30 percent more than before the April Revolution."

At the repair shop our Soviet KAMAZ [Kama Automobile Plant] trucks stood in a serried row. They had traveled many thousands of kilometers through the steppe and mountain passes; consider that in this country the only good roads are the concrete or asphalt roads running from the Soviet frontier to Herat and Kandagar or via Salang to Kabul. Otherwise the entire country lacks roads, and only Soviet motor vehicles are sturdy enough for travel in it. Some of the vehicles display traces of dents and bullet holes--souvenirs of mountain villages and counter-revolutionary gang bullets.

Muhammed Omar continued: "Our plant not only repairs and overhauls motor vehicles but also manufactures standard equipment, tankcars for petroleum products, bus bodies, spare parts for textile machinery and agricultural implements." The director smiled: "For example, we adapt the bodies and cabs of Soviet ZIL trucks to vehicles 'Made in Djangalak.'"

Nearby is a structural metal components shop. Everywhere lie large and still unpainted iron tanks with their bluish metal surfaces.

"These are gasoline tanks. We will mount them on the chassises of Czechoslovak "Tatra" vehicles. Owing partly to the influence of the counter-revolution, many gasoline tankcars have been demolished and gasoline sales sabotaged. Thus, the gasoline tankcars we are building represent as it were a blow struck at the enemy, help to our young republic. We also repair military vehicles and fabricate structural metal components for hangars as well as mess kits for the military. Soon we will begin to modernize the plant even though 300 of our younger workers have been conscripted into the army."

"Do you have sufficient manpower?"

"Quite. About a thousand people are now directly engaged in production work at the plant. We have 120 engineers and technicians, of whom 60 are engineers. Many have graduated from Kabul University and the polytechnical institute, and they also include graduates of Moscow higher schools. Plus Soviet experts."

"What changes have occurred in the social and living conditions of the workers?"

"This is hard to answer unequivocally. First, workers who formerly had no rights at all and were ignorant about everything except their jobs and homes, now participate in the management of production through their trade unions, the party organization, and social organizations. Working conditions have improved, earnings have risen and coupons are being issued for the purchase of manufactured consumer goods and food at reduced prices. For the first time in Afghanistan's history, the working man has been granted the right to free medical aid. The workers have their own canteen, and another larger and more modern canteen is being built."

## An Encounter With Creative Intelligentsia

My encounter with the creative intelligentsia began with meeting Sarvar Mamund, general director of the department of foreign and cultural relations under the DRA Ministry of Higher Education. An engineer by education, he graduated from the Donetsk Polytechnical Institute and taught at the Kabul Polytechnical Institute, where he still continues to teach on part-time basis even though his principal job keeps him very busy.

Sarvar commented: "What can you do, since there is a shortage of trained cadre in the republic. But still in my heart I remain attached to the creative intelligentsia. I'm currently translating from the Russian and Afghan languages."

Despite his youth, Sarvar Mamund has been a party member for more than 14 years, having first joined the party while a high school student. He had defended his candidate degree dissertation in our country, participated in the April Revolution, and worked as a journalist and an instructor at the department of defense and justice under the PDPA Central Committee, and since April 1982 he has been assigned to the republic's Ministry of Higher Education.

The meeting was declared open. I glance around the auditorium and unwittingly admire the parterre, the loges, the comfortable chairs with miniature earphones attached to them. A lambent light poured in through the skylights and side windows. Muhammed Nazar, DRA minister of social works, who was present at this meeting, was right when he declared: "The main thing for a man is having a heart. And our builders invested their hearts in this House."

From the podium the artist Yahia declared: "The Afghan people is constantly aware of the fraternal assistance of the Soviet people in all domains of life--the economy and culture. And this lovely House is a proof thereof. We the masters of the pen and the brush, have always dreamed of a place where we could meet and talk. Now we have such a place, a warm and hospitable place. Here we shall exhibit the works of Afghan artists and sculptors; here the first children's theatre will be established."

Zhalia, director of the Kabul Drama Theatre, began his speech as follows: "Let me tell you a story. Fifteen years ago a young Afghan, a graduate of the GITIS [State Institute of Theatrical Art imeni Lunacharskiy], fell in love with a Moscow girl, Alla. They got married and, although it was difficult for her to leave her native country and Moscow, she followed her beloved to Kabul. Here the couple gave birth to two children in whose veins flows the blood of the Afghan man and the Russian woman. They are the offspring of a great love. And what can be more sacred than love? Well, I'll not mystify you any longer I'm the father of these children. And, of course, it is I also who was that young Afghan who had married the girl from Moscow."

Zhalia continued: "This is not an isolated instance. The bonds of our affinity are deeper and broader. Thousands of young Afghan men and women have graduated from or are attending the higher schools of the Soviet Union, and many of our experts and scientists first launched their career at enterprises and research institutions of the Land of the Soviets, on construction projects built in Afghanistan with the help of our northern neighbor."

"There is an Afghan saying: 'Before building a house, select your neighbor.' Let me say that we were very lucky in our neighbor. Consider, for example, the theatre--the first in Afghanistan's history. This theatre, born after the April Revolution, was established with the fraternal assistance of theatre activists from the Georgian SSR in everything, from play production to props. We drew on many useful things from the repertoires of the theatre collectives of Soviet Central Asia, with whose peoples our history, customs and traditions have much in common. All this has helped us develop our own national topics, new plays reflecting the Afghan reality, and also to become familiar with Russian and Soviet classics, which to us are a school of knowledge, a school of wisdom. We pride ourselves greatly in having performed Maxim Gorky's "Mother" as the first Russian play on Afghan stage. We interpreted this remarkable work of the great writer in our own manner, applicable to the conditions of Afghan life. Our viewers responded warmly to the play, because it teaches how one should love and struggle for his Homeland-Mother."

At the meeting Zinaida Mikhaylovna Kruglova spoke in behalf of the Soviet side. I was also asked to speak.

What could I say, knowing that the Afghanistan of today is my Turkmenia of yesterday? And I recalled the history of my republic, its struggle against class enemies, its first steps in building a new life. We too began from the scratch.

[14 Jul 83 p 3]

[Text] What striking historical analogies! In the first years of Soviet rule the imperialists had poured into Turkestan armed gangs of emissaries and instructors and supplied the "basmachi" with weapons and ammunition. Today the same "outline" can be traced in the activities of the imperialist special services directed against the DRA. There is the same geography of "hornets' nests"--Karachi and Peshawar.

We too, like the Afghans, began with the land and water reform, comradely co-operatives, emancipation of women, telephone switchboards and red bullock carts causing feral anger to our enemies; we too began our first theatre where, as now among the Afghans, female roles were played by men, because parents forbade their daughters to participate in public life. An old song....

Ardent supporters of colonialism used to call Turkmenia, as they call Afghanistan now, "a dark spot on the map," good only for being obliterated. Perhaps they might have "obliterated" it. But the freshening winds of the October Revolution blew into Turkmenia, and the Turkmen people began its greatest step forward with which commences the internationalist struggle for great and common aims, the path toward freedom, happiness and progress. This step has now been also made by the Afghan people, which carried out its revolution.

At the Mausoleum of the Grand Mogul

Nearly all night thunder and lightning raged over Kabul. The rain did not cease in the morning either. Thickening clouds enveloped the mountains and

covered the city. The downpour was preceded by "the Afghan," a dust storm which caused one's teeth to grit, so that now even the unending rains preventing excursions outside the city seemed a great blessing.

Long-expected bright-gray breaks in the clouds appeared in the sky, tearing gaps in the curtain of rain--harbinger at last of the becalming of the storm. It was only then that I decided to leave the hotel. This time I was only accompanied by Mamul, an Afghan driver who has been around.

The night's rains polished the streets and squares to a glitter, having swept from them dust and dead leaves. I did not recognize the Kabul River. Yesterday it flowed on indolently under the blue skies, whereas now it was torrential and turbid. Upstream, in the foothills of the Sher-Darvaz Mountain Range the grandiose Bagi-Babur Park spread on quaint terraces; this is where rest the remains of Zakhiriddin Muhammed Babur, the well-known poet of the ancient East and founder of the Empire of the Grand Moguls.

We ascended a marble staircase leading to a beautiful and elegant mosque looking like a miniature Taj Mahal. Just above it is a small marble mausoleum where Babur's remains are preserved. To the right are two modest tombstones, also of white marble, under which are buried Kamron and Hindal, the sons of Babur. Several paces from the mausoleum, at Babur's head, is yet another marble plaque, beneath which rest the remains of Rukia Sultan Begum, Hindal's daughter, who had later become the wife of Emperor Akbar, a grandson of Babur.

As I was told later by Abdulhai Habibi, a well-known Afghan Orientalist and student of the history of the Grand Moguls, Rukia had previously been married to Muhammed Bayramkhan, a military captain under the Grand Moguls.

Bidding farewell to this wondrous monument, once more I glanced around at the trees, avenues, the mausoleum and the mosque and was struck by their ineffable loveliness and the pristine stillness reigning in the gardens. Rain droplets fell from the bottom branches. It seemed as if the movement of centuries had been suspended in this stillness, in this lacework of yellow leaves, as if time stood still in enchantment over these wonders of ancient architects.

We walked along a path paved with crushed brick, and rain began to fall again. A curtain of rain and gray mists, through which the sharp peaks of the mountains were barely discernible, moved toward us. We ran toward the car, which was parked near the teahouse.

The Afghans sitting under a tent glanced with astonishment at us: hardly anyone would venture outdoors in such a downpour. But once the driver explained to them that the guest is a "Shuravi"--a Soviet man from Turkmenia who is interested in the history of the Afghan people and has just toured Babur's Mausoleum, their faces became radiant and they invited us to drink tea with them and get dry.

"We Live in You...."

I met more than once my Turkmen compatriots resident in Kabul--in the hotel, in the House of Friendship, in newspaper offices, and as a guest at their homes....Let me describe only some of these encounters.

I am in the modest editorial office of the newspaper 'GORESH' ("Struggle"), published in the Turkmen language, meeting with Shamuhammet Yazmas, the Editor-in-Chief of 'GORESH'; Abdykerim Yazy Aydy, writer, Lt Col, DRA Armed Forces; Babaklych Dovran, chairman of the "Rodina" [Homeland] Society uniting all Turkmens living in Afghanistan; Stydneykh Emin, responsible functionary at the ministry of culture, writer; Abdyrakhman Sokhbet, editor-in-chief for Turkmen-language radio broadcasts, and others. Incidentally, they all are Turkmens and hold these posts only since the April Revolution which has granted equal rights to all nations and nationalities living in this country. I am acquainted with nearly them all from their previous visits to our republic when I had the opportunity of welcoming them at the Turkmen Friendship Society and holding long talks with them.

Shamuhammet Yazmas described the weekly newspaper of which he is the editor-in-chief. It is a Turkmen-language newspaper published in the Arabic script. Of course newspapers with a small format are clearly inadequate for the half a million Turkmens living in Afghanistan. But prior to the April Revolution even such a newspaper as well as Turkmen-language radio and TV broadcasts had been only a dream. It publishes chiefly articles dealing with the life of the party and the country and the Afghanese Turkmens participating in building the new life. In view of the great interest of Afghanese Turkmens in their ancient homeland, the newspaper keeps them posted about events in the economic, political and cultural life of Soviet Turkmenistan. It also often publishes articles by Turkmen poets and writers.

I brought to the editors a copy of the Afghan cycle of poems by Bayram Zhutdnev. Shamuhammet perused the pages with interest.

He said: "Lovely poems. The poet sounds as if he had been living all his life in Afghanistan. We have already reprinted many of these poems from the periodical 'SOVET EDIBIYATY.'" All the same, Shamuhammet selected a few poems and put them in a desk drawer. "These are new to us. We will publish them at once."

My Afghan friends were interested in many things: they wanted to know about our oblast and rayon newspapers, the education and training of Soviet journalists, literary life, the latest Turkmen prose and poetry and our new ceremonies and rituals engendered by the Soviet reality.

Eighteen years ago, during my first stay in Afghanistan, I had not been asked such questions. I recalled a meeting with an Afghan delegation which arrived in our republic. One of the guests, a father of grown children, made a chance remark that recently he had witnessed a Komsomol wedding of his younger daughter in a small district office.

The Afghan said: "Yes, yes, a Komsomol wedding, following all the rules, all the rituals of freedom. The main thing is that the bride's face was not veiled. A tape recorder played music and we sang songs. It was a gay time. True, we invited only a few close relatives and friends to the wedding. This is not exactly safe nowadays, just as it is not exactly safe to study the Russian language, toward which many people are drawn, owing to the danger of retaliation from the Dushman. But our life is changing and no one can stop



this. To us the Soviet Union, the republics of Soviet Central Asia, their people and their ways of thinking are a living example."

The guest continued: "The Afghans, and especially the Turkmens among them, are interested in all aspects of the life of the working people of Soviet Turkmenistan. And our press reports on the Komsomol weddings. So we copied your style of wedding."

So now I personally ascertained how our compatriots emulate all the good and progressive aspects of the Soviet way of life. I recall the hospitable home of Rozyberdy Mukha-ogly, a political functionary and lieutenant colonel in the DRA Armed Forces. I recall how at the door of his four-room apartment on the fourth floor, we were warmly welcomed by its inhabitant together with his charming wife. Young, black-haired, with mole on her cheek, wearing the national costume, with a kerchief on her head, she shook hands with all the men and asked me graciously how I was and what were my first impressions of the new Afghanistan....

And I also remember something that happened 18 years ago. How this Turkmen woman is so unlike the wives and sisters of the young Herat "dunanshchik" Henim Myati. When they saw me, they recoiled, howling. Today, by contrast, the young hostess bade us all to sit down in her living room and led me to a room which contained a loom with an unfinished rug of the Tekin pattern.

The attraction of the local Turkmens toward their ancient homeland is considerable. As soon as you speak with any of them, they will tell you the names of their forefathers down to the 12th generation and enumerate all relatives who invariably turn out to be emigrants from Turkmenia. This is indeed so.

Abdykerim Yazy, a tall black-haired Turkmen in military uniform bearing the insignia of a lieutenant colonel in the Afghan army, raised a toast: "Fate had decreed that our ancestors would move to Afghanistan." In Turkmenistan he is known as the gifted writer Abdykerim Aydyn. "Some came in the distant past. Others came later during the times of the cruel Iranian Nedir-Shah. Others still came after the October Revolution, Civil War and collectivization. The unhappiest of them all were the last ones, deceived by their tribal leaders, ignorant and forgotten: they had thoughtlessly come to this country and afterward they realized their mistake, but it was already too late. But they all, young and old, regard the Turkmen land as their ancient homeland, Soviet Turkmenistan, which has always been to them a source of warmth in the cold, a source of coolness in sultry heat, a ray of sun in the pitch darkness. It is said that a fish lives in water--and we Afghanese Turkmens live in you, in Soviet Turkmenistan.

"We Afghan and Turkmen regard ourselves as a part of the Turkmen nation even though we speak Ersary and Sar'zhov dialects. For while our speech contains many Farsi, Pushtu and Dari words, they have become an organic and enriching part of the fabric of our language. Even so, literary Turkmen formed in socialist Turkmenistan, where tribes and clans have merged into a united nation, remains to us a language to be emulated."

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No matter how nice it is to be a guest, one has to go home. Nearly all my Afghan friends whom I had the occasion to meet in Kabul accompanied me to the airport to say goodbye. I regarded this as homage of respect to my nation and to the country I represented.

An hour later I descended from my plane in Tashkent. I was home! Walking on the familiar streets of the Uzbek capital, I returned in my thoughts to Kabul, to its streets and squares and the homes of my friends, again meeting as it were its people who have grasped and are deeply conscious of the nature of the revolution they accomplished, the meaning of the new life, which differs from what I had seen 18 years ago as the day differs from the night.

Winds of freedom now blow over the land of ancient Ariana. Afghanistan, in the throes of a new birth, is on the right path and there is no force that can nudge it from the road taken.

1386

CSO: 1800/1644



## INTERNATIONAL

### FUNCTIONS OF POLISH MILITARY COMMISSARS IN INDUSTRY DESCRIBED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 83 p 4

[Article of IZVESTIYA correspondent L. Toporkov under the rubric "Letter From Warsaw": "Bouquet for the Commissar"]

[Text] "People of the front line." "You have honorably carried out your lofty civic and patriotic duty." "You have proved trustworthy in the hour of the most difficult trials..."

All these words, coming straight from the heart, were heard recently when labor collectives in Poland said goodbye to their military commissars.

In the grave days of 1981, when the country was swept by a dark wave of anarchy and rioting organized by the forces of counterrevolution and Western diversionary centers, sending local military commissars from among the most experienced, politically mature officers was an important measure for reestablishing order and combatting the crisis.

Colonel Henryk Rutkowski told me about those days in the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army.

"When I think about our commissars now," he said, "I cannot help but remember the words of the Soviet poet: 'Forward, communists!' Yes, these people, striding forward, are people of the front line. In all departments, provinces, and cities, and in the most responsible enterprises, the commissars worked--plenipotentiaries of the Military Council of National Security. Working people greeted the appearance of the commissars with relief and hope, and gave them help. What did the commissars do? Literally everything. Exposing and politically isolating those who "muddied the waters" in collectives, fighting against speculation, bureaucratism, bad management, and disorganization. In short, the idea was to normalize life on all fronts. The commissars were propagandists and agitators, educating people about the politics of the people's rule, and exposing the machinations of the enemies of socialism. In everything they were an example of what today's communist should be, and by their example they instilled trust among the working people. Having fulfilled their duty, when the military situation changed, the commissars again returned to their former army posts."

When H. Rutkowski introduced me to one of the former commissars, Zenon Patora, a strong, tanned lieutenant-colonel about 40 years old, I was then introduced by Patora to a "civilian" guest. This was Marian Pelczar, one of the managers of a tire plant from the city of Debica in Tam'ow Province.

"I came to the ministry," said Pelczar, "and, of course, it was impossible not to look in on the commissar. He would be interested in knowing how our affairs were going, what was new. Everyone asked me to send greetings to Zenon. For us, now, he is our man."

"And in fact," said Patora, smiling, "how are things going? I've been a little out of touch with you."

"Supplies are stable again," Marian cheerfully informed us. "We're getting synthetic rubber from the Soviet Union and manufacturing 13,000 tires a day!"

Zenon Patora, a regular military man, an experienced political worker, was sent as a commissar to the Debica plant in those difficult days for the enterprise, when production there declined nearly to half normal. And it was obvious to the naked eye that as a result of the subversive activities of "Solidarity," the corrosion of bad management and general disorder had eroded the relationships among people. The dependence on Western raw materials also had an effect.

A commissar must be a man with an active life position, resolute and just actions, and party-minded reliability. And this was quickly realized in the plant's collective. It was in his power to raise the issue of dismissing demagogue-saboteurs from work, and rouse the party organization and administration to activity. The style of work was to be closer to the individual and his needs.

Once a middle-aged woman worker came to him in some embarrassment. The roof of her home was leaking, and she had already tried all the authorities. Her request was essentially trivial: she needed a few bits of roofing paper. Patora did not shrug off this "trifle." And after a few days the roof was repaired. Now it was the commissar's turn to be embarrassed: for the first time in his life he had been presented with...a bouquet of flowers!

People came to the commissar. They came despite the ugly whisperings in the corners, despite the moral terror at which the extremists of the former "Solidarity" were such masters. And this was a sign of trust, of the hope for a better tomorrow. Zenon Patora, not undermining the plant's administration and party organization but, in his words, waking them to action, helped resolve painful issues, especially the social-everyday ones on which people's mood chiefly depends. It was necessary to overcome the lack of initiative, the inertia, and to find reserves and capabilities.

Summer was approaching. What sort of vacation would the children have? At the plant, they shrugged their shoulders. How? they said. Trade union activity had been suspended. And there was no money, they said, to repair the cabins in the Harcerz Camp. Zenon and plant director Andrzej Tamowski went to the

camp. They looked at the cabins and calculated. Not that much money would be needed. They put together a brigade of those who were less fully occupied in the basic production. The children's vacation was not ruined. Nor was that of the workers. The plant had a vacation area in the woods 20 kilometers from Debica. While it was being put into order, a beach was set up. Now the commissar asked his guest from Debica how the vacation season went.

The fact that Patora is still interested in the affairs of "his" plant should not seem strange. He gave it a part of his heart.

And here is another commissar, this time a representative of an older, legendary generation which stood at the springs of its native Poland and fought for its future with weapons in hand. Brigade General Jan Pirog. A handsome, stately man. In October will be the anniversary of a great date in the history of Poland, the 40th anniversary of the Polish Army. It is his as well, his personal holiday.

As an 18-year-old youth, along with his father and two older brothers, Jan came to Seltsy in May 1943, near Ryazan, where the 1st Division of the future Polish Army was forming. Then came the baptism of fire in Belorussia, near Lenino. From there, the direct but so difficult path to the motherland, to liberate it, hand in hand with the Soviet warriors, from the Fascist invaders. In autumn of 1944, he came to the Lublin region, a land which had become the cradle of the people's rule. Here in Lublin, Jan commanded a platoon in the front-line officers' school.

When the threat hung over the conquests of the people's rule in this land also, Jan Pirog was named commissar of Lublin Province. Everyone knew him there, and he knew everyone. The hot days and nights, when it was sometimes impossible even to close an eye....

"The spectrum of problems," the general relates, "was very broad--from factories to schools. Yes, schools, because the extremist elements--and they included, unfortunately, some teachers--were trying to draw school children into the dirty game of politics. We mobilized the reliable pedagogues, parents' committees, and the party aktiv, and took command of the situation. It was the same in the sphere of production and social order as a whole. Likewise in the countryside. A sufficient amount of grain was gathered that year."

Under the direction of General Pirog were territorial operative groups and commissars acting in plants, cities, and gminas. They acted with conviction and energetically, knowing well that a revolution is only when something stands and can stand up for itself.

For 585 days, many hundreds of commissars, envoys of the Polish United Workers' Party and the people's rule, worked in all corners of Poland. Having fulfilled their duty, they returned, as they now say, to the second line. Their great, selfless labor is considered meritorious by all those to whom socialist Poland is dear, and its future. That is why the farewell to the commissars was so heartfelt.

12255

CSO: 1807/20

## INTERNATIONAL

### ANGOLAN ECONOMIC, MILITARY, DIPLOMATIC SITUATION DESCRIBED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No. 44, 28 Oct-3 Nov 83 pp 12-13

[Vyacheslav Molev "Political Reportage": "People's Angola: 'The Struggle Continues! Victory Is Inevitable!'" ; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Under complex conditions of aggression by racists and intrigues by counterrevolution the people of revolutionary Angola are continuing the selfless struggle to strengthen their national sovereignty and build the foundations of socialism, relying primarily on the socialist community countries' assistance. Fulfilling its international duty, people's Angola, despite the sacrifices which have fallen to its lot, is pursuing a principled policy of supporting the national liberation movements in southern Africa.

Luanda-Moscow--Luanda leads a tense life. Gasoline tankers, huge container trucks, and heavy trucks crawl through its multistory streets, now wheezing in a heart-rending manner, now with their brakes squealing. In (Kinashishi) Square a road roller is flattening fresh asphalt. A detachment of volunteers from the Angolan Women's organization is engaged in tidying up its district. Large red and yellow buses dash about the city, puffing steadily and imparting to the capital its definite rhythm.

But the awful breath of war constantly and imperiously bursts in upon this at first glance placid picture. It is sensed even in Luanda's very appearance. In the fire-scorched walls, still covered with sooty blotches, of the Sonangol Oil Refinery, which South African commandoes tried to destroy. In the lifeless framework of partly constructed buildings: the funds, the construction materials, and the specialists are needed primarily to liquidate the consequences of the aggressive actions of the Republic of South Africa and its accomplices in the country's southern provinces and to strengthen its defense capability. In the lines outside stores: the city, whose population has now almost doubled to 1 million people owing to an influx of refugees from the south, is experiencing a shortage of food and essentials.

You are reminded of this war by radio, television, and newspaper reports from regions where people's army units of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] are repulsing the perfidious intrigues of racists

from the Republic of South Africa and gangs of Angolan counterrevolutionaries. News reports from the scenes of fighting make the heart of people's Angola quicken its pulse, introducing alarming chords into its rhythm: Luanda is the capital of a "frontline" state, and this inevitably affects the atmosphere in which it lives.

The arsenal of international reaction includes very refined and barbarous methods of exerting pressure with a view to liquidating revolutionary power in Angola. There is direct armed aggression, diplomatic blackmail, economic sabotage and subversion, support for counterrevolution, skillful playing on the tribalist sentiments of certain African leaders, and bloody terror against the peaceful population who support people's power. Understandably, under these conditions Angola has to resolve extremely complex tasks in order to defend its independence and the people's first social gains and, despite all the intrigues of enemies, firmly follow the chosen socialist path.

#### "The Republic of South Africa Is Our Chief Enemy"

"The Army of the Republic of South Africa has now been occupying southern Angola for 2 years, having cut off economically important regions from the republic," Domingos (Usanga Leu N'go), leader of the information department of the provincial committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] for Bengo Province, said. "This fact alone creates serious economic difficulties and diverts considerable funds and resources to strengthening the country's defense capability. Meanwhile, the racists are actively using the captured territory to provide material and technical supplies for the counterrevolutionary gangs of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and to organize acts of sabotage and terrorism. And recently not only industrial enterprises, the transport network, and food warehouses have become the target of sabotage. Feeling behind them the support of the Republic of South Africa and its imperialist patrons, UNITA's men are becoming increasingly insolent, and their crimes grow daily more monstrous. Why, tell me, did they derail a passenger train in Moxico Province? Fifty dead and 200 injured...

"...The train lying on its side, mutilated bodies, the faces of the injured distorted by pain. And among the short grass several exercise books and a mathematics textbook open at the title page--the victims included 12-year-old schoolboy Abel Antonio from the settlement of Luculo. This was the picture that the rescue workers found on arriving at the scene of the UNITA bandits' crime."

Domingos (Usanga) is short and thin with an open smile. He is an honored partisan commander and knows the value of life and death. The colonizers once managed to capture him, but not even torture broke the fighter's will, and then the butchers cut off his hand. Naturally, UNITA's bloody terror against peaceful inhabitants elicits a particularly angry protest from him.

"How, in fact, do these counterrevolutionaries differ from our worst enemies--the racists and former colonizers!"--he exclaimed.

And indeed, wherever UNITA detachments appear they leave behind them a bloody trail, ruins, and charred remains. An old man from the village of Chicala 30 km from the provincial center of Huambo described how UNITA men cut down 40 peasants in a neighboring settlement for refusing to supply them with food.

Recently bandits once again meted out bloody violence against the inhabitants of the settlements of (Mbave) and Ungo in Huambo Province, where they burned down 4,000 houses, plundered warehouses and stores, and literally a few days ago attacked a transport column. Over the past year they have put out of action Angola's biggest pulp and paper combine at Alto Catumbela and destroyed the Lomaum Hydroelectric Power Station, as a result of which the power supply to the cities of Huambo, Lobito, and Benguela has been affected. They regularly organize acts of sabotage on the Benguela Railroad, which is of vital importance not only to Angola but also to Zambia and Zaire.

"Counterrevolution's chief aim," Domingos (Usanga) emphasized, "is to disorganize the republic's economic life, frustrate social transformations, intimidate the population, and isolate the revolutionary government of the MPLA-PT from the broad people's masses, from which it derives strength and confidence in the rightness of its cause. In short, everything is aimed at liquidating people's power."

Jeronimo (Shine Dine), first secretary of the MPLA-PT provincial committee for Cunene Province, has been summoned to Luanda from Angola's occupied regions by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-PT and president of the People's Republic of Angola [PRA]. He is now waiting for a new appointment, but quite recently he was conducting propaganda work among the population there with a group of comrades and gathering information on the actions of the Republic of South Africa and UNITA. Jeronimo (Shine Dine's) opinion is naturally important for understanding the situation in the south of the country.

"There is no denying that UNITA is a difficult problem which must not be underestimated. Of course, Savimbi is dangerous, but still our chief enemy is the Republic of South Africa. It is precisely Pretoria that supplies him with weapons, provides him with military cover, and helps him extend the zone of operations. Two years ago, you remember, the head of UNITA promised to proclaim his own state on the territory 'liberated' by him from MPLA-PT rule. But what happened? It has remained an empty sound. For the point is that UNITA has virtually no real support there among the local inhabitants. What is more, they have set up partisan detachments and are struggling against Republic of South Africa and UNITA troops. So, even under the racists' protection Savimbi has failed to proclaim a puppet state in southern Angola and achieve some semblance of 'international' recognition. Yes, of course, the Republic of South Africa is our chief enemy."

The events of the past 2 months confirm 100 times over the correctness of Jeronimo (Shine Dine's) words. On 2 August UNITA detachments attacked the city of Cangamba in Moxico Province. For 8 days 300 fighters of the FAPLA

People's Army repulsed the attack by superior forces until the bandits finally retreated, losing many men killed. The city is strategically extremely important--the only convenient route from Cuando Cubango Province northward passes through it, which accounts for the particularly fierce fighting. The capture of Cangamba by counterrevolutionaries with the direct support of aircraft and military advisers from the Republic of South Africa virtually ensured the advance of Pretoria's troops deep inside Angola under UNITA's "flag."

At a press conference in Luanda Lieutenant Colonel R. Monteiro Ngongo, deputy chief of the FAPLA General Staff, revealed some important details of this operation and its aims.

"The transfer of UNITA detachments into Moxico Province began back in May and was carried out directly from Namibian territory," he emphasized. "The capture of Cangamba and the counterrevolutionaries' increased activity on the eve of the visit to the PRA by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar were meant to create the impression that UNITA is conducting a major offensive and is a real force in Angola, and therefore its participation in talks on the question of Namibia is essential."

#### Traitor and Murderer in a "Savior's" Toga

It is the cherished dream of Pretoria and Washington to involve UNITA in these talks. For this would mean one more variant of "international recognition" of Savimbi's grouping and a decisive step in the realization of their plan to impose on Angola a "government of national unity" with UNITA's participation. Particularly in as much as a very specious excuse has been chosen for this: the creation of a "coalition," they say, will lead to the establishment of peace in the country. But of what "unity" can there be any question, and with whom?

As the people's power asserted itself and progressive reforms were implemented, UNITA's sociopolitical face also changed. More and more Ovimbundu were coming to realize what people's power promises them. On the other hand, the class struggle was assuming an increasingly distinct nature, and the revolution was being resisted increasingly fiercely by those whom it had deprived of illegal privileges and sources of income--former latifundistas, officials, merchants, speculators, and the tribal aristocracy which cooperated with the colonial regime. Of course, there are still many deceived peasants in UNITA. But it is not they who determine its political direction. And whereas UNITA used to have an ethnic nature, a small stratum of class enemies of the revolution, who have become paid agents of the racists and the CIA, now makes up the backbone of its gangs.

The lack of broad support explains why Savimbi had now chosen the tactic of deep raids to carry out sabotage. A large part of PRA territory is sparsely populated. This enables bandits to penetrate various regions imperceptibly, and it is still difficult for the small people's army to effectively control vast areas. In addition, a sizeable proportion of its forces is



involved in repulsing aggression by the Republic of South Africa. And Savimbi makes use of these circumstances, deriving the maximum advantage from them.

And they want to impose this traitor and murderer on the MPLA-PT as a "coalition" partner?! The Luanda government quite rightly rejects such pretensions resolutely: an alliance with Savimbi would be tantamount to abandoning the PRA's principled anti-imperialist policy and the plans to build a society with a socialist orientation and to betraying the working people's interests.

But Washington and Pretoria continue to be stubborn. The point is that one of their most important strategic tasks today is to keep control of Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the Republic of South Africa, and also, in the final analysis, of the Republic of South Africa itself, where the liberation struggle against the apartheid regime is developing increasingly actively.

"The conflict in Namibia is a conflict between the forces of imperialism and colonialism and the people fighting for freedom and political self-determination. During 17 years of armed struggle the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] has achieved impressive victories over the enemy and considerably widened the zones of its operations. As a result, this war now costs Pretoria \$3 million a day. And the fact that, despite tremendous efforts, the racists are failing to rout SWAPO is very convincing proof that our movement was born deep within the people as a consequence of their national desire for freedom, independence, and progress," SWAPO President S. Nujoma said.

He was receiving the delegation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries in his small office at the Luanda headquarters. Taller than average and broad-shouldered, S. Nujoma holds himself simply and confidently, expounding SWAPO's viewpoint on the situation in southern Africa.

"We have repeatedly displayed readiness to resolve the conflict by peaceful means on a just basis, but the racists refuse to grant our people the right to determine their destiny themselves," he continued. "Relying on Western military and financial support, the racists have been trying stubbornly ever since 1978 to create a pseudo-independent regime in Namibia with the help of the puppet Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [DTA] grouping and to force the 'front-line' states to agree to recognize it."

The creation of the "contact group" comprising the United States, Britain, France, the FRG, and Canada was aimed at a neocolonialist solution to the problem of Namibia. In proposing to try out the "last chance" to persuade the Republic of South Africa to agree to the holding of free and fair elections in Namibia under UN supervision and control so as to enable the Namibians to determine their destiny for themselves, it endeavored, above all, to draw up terms for Namibia's decolonization which would most accord with the interests of the Republic of South Africa and Western powers. Even though the document drawn up by "the five" clearly gave the advantage to the Republic of South Africa, SWAPO, motivated by the desire to speed up



the approach of independence, agreed to it. Subsequently approved by the UN Security Council, it became known as Resolution 435. But even these conditions suited neither the racists nor the United States...

Talks were held in mid-April 1981 [between C. Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, and the South African foreign and defense ministers]. Their substance became known from a photocopy of the "record of the conversation" stamped "secret," which appeared in THE WINDHOEK OBSERVER. At that meeting Malan and Botha asserted with one voice that the Republic of South Africa cannot agree to SWAPO's accession to power. And that, they said, is what will happen in any elections under UN auspices, and therefore Resolution 435 should be rejected...

On the Reagan administration's behalf C. Crocker gave the "go-ahead" to dragging out and frustrating the fulfillment of Resolution 435. The White House, he said, shares the Republic of South Africa's concern at the Cuban presence and intends to seek ways to remove this problem in "the context of the entire Namibian question." The right to decide in turn belongs to the Republic of South Africa, Crocker emphasized, and it must know that in the immediate future it has no reason to fear military pressure aimed at making it get out of Namibia... Well, it would obviously be hard to put it more transparently.

The United States virtually sanctioned freedom of action for the Republic of South Africa, and Pretoria, encouraged, did not tarry. In August 1981 it threw its troops into Angola, thereby trying to reduce to naught all the efforts for a just settlement of the Namibia problem. But the PRA Government did not yield to the provocation. The Republic of South Africa's military pressure did not take effect, and Luanda continued to insist firmly on Pretoria's fulfilling Resolution 435. And then the Republic of South Africa again resorted to delaying tactics. In particular, it advanced the idea--instantly taken up by Washington--of "linking" Namibia's decolonization with the withdrawal of Cuba's internationalist forces from Angola. However, the question of the Cuban presence has nothing to do with the question of granting independence to Namibia, and the idea of their "linkage" was, of course, at once condemned not only by other participants in the talks but also by all the "front-line" states, the OAU, the nonaligned movement, and almost the entire world community, including the U.S. West European allies.

While helping the Republic of South Africa to delay fulfilling the resolution, at the same time the "contact group" was furthering the racists' efforts to strengthen the DTA bloc's collapsed puppet regime. But the hope that it would be able to counter SWAPO was not realized. The Republic of South Africa was forced to disband the DTA government and reestablish its direct rule. With the creation of a "state council" one more attempt is now being made to set up a puppet government in Namibia.

Understandably, SWAPO and the "front-line" states were sharply critical of the "contact group."

"Having analyzed the history of the talks on Namibia," S. Nujoma emphasized, "our movement reached the conclusion that the U.S.-headed 'contact group' is acting contrary to the letter and the spirit of Resolution 435. Its activity essentially boiled down to political maneuvers to save the racist regime in Namibia. Our people--there is no doubt about this now--are being used by the Reagan administration as a hostage to achieve the U.S. global imperialist ambitions. This can be seen particularly clearly, in particular, in connection with its stubborn attempts to link the question of Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from the PRA. The SWAPO Central Committee categorically condemns this farfetched and unsubstantiated pretext and believes that Namibia's oppressed people must acquire independence without further delay or preliminary conditions.

"In this connection I wish to express warm gratitude to the socialist community countries and, in particular, the USSR and the Leninist Communist Party headed by YU.V. Andropov for their tremendous, sincere support for our just cause," S. Nujoma continued. "We are also extremely grateful to the PRA Government for giving us the opportunity to be here, in Luanda, in direct proximity to the arena of our struggle, and for the sacrifices it is making to support the Namibian people's legitimate demands."

The new maneuver by the United States and the Republic of South Africa with a view to wrecking the just resolution of the Namibia problem and shifting the responsibility for this onto Angola has met with a resolute rebuff in Luanda.

"Cuban troops came to us in connection with the double aggression undertaken a few weeks before the proclamation of Angola's independence in 1975, and at that time there was not even any talk of conditions for the decolonization of Namibia," PRA Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge said in conversation with our delegation. "These are totally unconnected issues. Moreover, the question of the Cuban forces' presence in the PRA is exclusively the affair of two sovereign states--Angola and Cuba--and can in no way be put forward as a condition for Namibia's independence."

Paulo Jorge was receiving the Soviet delegation in a small, modestly furnished reception room at the Foreign Ministry. The delegation leader--B.A. Abdurazakov, member of the Presidium of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries and Uzbek SSR foreign minister--and Paulo Jorge know each other well for many years' work in the AAPSO and have side by side championed its anti-imperialist positions.

"During the 25 years that the AAPSO has existed," Paulo Jorge continued, "almost the whole of Africa has acquired independence, and now, finally, the question of Namibia's freedom has arisen. But imperialism is stubbornly holding on to that country. Therefore all kinds of attempts are being made to frustrate the fulfillment of Resolution 435."

Angola considers it its duty to assist the realization of the Namibian people's legitimate right to freedom, but it is impossible to achieve the

implementation this document as long as the Republic of South Africa occupies Angola territory. This is the PRA Government's viewpoint: This war has been imposed on Angola, and Pretoria must withdraw its troops without any conditions. At the same time the Republic of South Africa must begin talks on a cease-fire with SWAPO, for the reaching of an agreement on this question could be the first step in realizing the UN plan to grant Namibia independence on the basis of Resolution 435.

#### Upholding the Sovereign Right to Security

"The PRA is ready to make its contribution to achieving a just solution of the Namibian problem," Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-PT and president of the country, emphasized at a rally in Luanda when greeting the UN secretary general. "The Angolan people achieved their independence as the result of a long struggle, during which our motherland's best sons and daughters died. And now we are waging a struggle to defend our independence. We reject demands for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops which are in our country at the request of the Angolan Government.

"The MPLA-PT and the PRA Government," J.E. dos Santos went on to declare, "believe that to resolve the problems of southern Africa it is necessary to withdraw the Republic of South Africa's troops from Angolan territory, implement Resolution 435, and cease the Republic of South Africa's aggressive actions against Angola, as well as the racist regime's military and material support for UNITA's puppet gangs, which are continuing to terrorize the peaceful population. If these conditions are fulfilled, the PRA is prepared to discuss with Cuba the procedure for a gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola."

"The Republic of South Africa's extremely aggressive policy of late has led to a considerable deterioration in the situation in southern Africa," Paulo Jorge emphasized in conversation with our delegation. "And the United States bears equal responsibility with the Republic of South Africa for this. Mankind is now living through a critical movement in its history, and the blame for this also belongs above all to the Reagan administration, which rejects the USSR's important peace initiatives advanced by YU.V. Andropov with a view to ensuring peace throughout the world."

The emergence of an extremely explosive situation in southern Africa is indeed the direct result of the Reagan administration's adventurist policy of asserting its imperial ambitions. "It is quite incontestable that the South African region is of vitally important interest to Western powers, and to the United States in particular," C. Crocker emphasized at a session of a U.S. congressional committee. "Ten countries in southern Africa constitute a region extraordinarily rich in mineral resources, including raw materials of exceptional importance to the West's strategic interests." And, having arbitrarily proclaimed southern Africa, as well as many other regions of the world, "a sphere of its vital interests," the White House is seeking at all costs to prevent the realization of their people's legitimate right to freedom and to control their own national riches.

This is precisely why the United States rejects any draft solution of the Namibian problem if it preserves even theoretically the possibility of an anti-imperialist leadership acceding to power in that country. This is also why it seeks to secure the withdrawal of Cuba's internationalist force from Angola and to impose imperialist puppets on the Angolan people. And this is precisely why Washington is persistently strengthening the Republic of South Africa, turning it into a militarily and economically strong force capable of ensuring that U.S. economic and strategic interests are preserved.

Today the whole of southern Africa has been enveloped by the flames of the "undeclared war." The racists of the Republic of South Africa, goaded by the United States, are waging it both against people's Angola and against Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana, and Zambia, which stand at the forefront of the confrontation with imperialism and racism and are upholding their right to independent development and social progress. But the chief blow is directed, above all, against Angola: the MPLA-PT government not only defends most resolutely and consistently the people's right to emancipated labor and management of the country but also unconditionally supports the patriots of Namibia and South Africa, persistently preventing the realization of imperialism's criminal designs.

The MPLA-PT and the government and people of Angola are mobilizing forces to offer up resolute resistance to the continuing intrigues of racists and counterrevolution. Thousands of volunteers have joined the FAPLA People's Army, which is widening successful operations against UNITA gangs and the racists' troops. Regional military councils are being set up to exercise political, military, and socioeconomic leadership in the regions directly subject to aggression from the Republic of South Africa. Workers and peasants, uniting in people's vigilance brigades, are making their own labor contribution to strengthening the republic's defense capability.

...A stormy human sea filled the huge (Kinashishi) Square--a protest demonstration against the Republic of South Africa's aggression was taking place. Tens of thousands of residents of the capital, with tightly clenched fists raised high, were chanting: "Down with the racists and their UNITA lackeys!" "Down with imperialism and racism!" "We will defend the motherland, independence, and freedom!" And this united upsurge echoed the firm resolve of the ordinary working people of Luanda and all of Angola to close their ranks around the MPLA-PT, to defend the socialist motherland, and to protect their social gains and the Angolan revolution. "The struggle continues! Victory is inevitable!" the people of Angola say.

CSO: 1807/32

## INTERNATIONAL

### BRIEFS

DOMINICAN COMMUNISTS IN BAKU--(AZERINFORM) A delegation of the Dominican Communist Party, headed by Central Committee member Santiago Guillermo, spent 3 days in Azerbaijan. The Dominican comrades were received by Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee secretary G. A. Gasanov. On 26 October the delegation members left for Moscow. [Excerpts] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 28 Oct 83 p 2]

CSO: 1807/36

## NATIONAL

### DECLINE IN PRIVATE RURAL CONSTRUCTION EXPLORED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by P. Krupenikov, editor of the SOKOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, Sokol, Vologda Oblast, under rubric "Problem": "Where Are You, Then, Carpenters?: Individual Construction in Rural Areas Needs Not Only Those Who Want Their Own Farmstead, But Also Those Who Know How to Handle a Hatchet and a Trowel"]

[Text] That is what people said at Dobrovolets about mechanizer Nikolay Ganin, when he handed over the keys to the sovkhos apartment and moved into a home that had been raised by his own hands, thus "going against the current."

And what a mansion it turned out to be -- six windows in the facade, decorated not with cut casings, as is usual, but with turned ones. The large courtyard was well landscaped. The orchard was blooming and there were livestock being raised there. The family had really become a peasant family -- everything was right there, at hand. . .

But are there many like him who are inclined to hew their own cottages and make a nest under their own roof? Whereas in 1965 the number of individual homes built in the rayon was 115, five years later the number was 61, and recently there is no sense even talking about it -- every year 4 to 6 families move into private homes.

And yet the village structures are getting older. It would be a good idea to give them either corrective or capital repair, and then their life would be prolonged. But the owners -- that there are quite a few of them -- can hardly wait for an emergency situation to develop. They are obviously planning of getting a government apartment.

"We used to have as many as 40 private builders a year, but nowadays people are not asking for plots of land and are not interested in Gosbank loans," I was told by the accountant at one of the sovkhoses.

People used to build houses as a group, as a collective, for a couple, on one's own. Although why on their own? There is a custom, which is called by a word that nowadays is used very infrequently, "help." That is when relatives, neighbors, and acquaintances helped during difficult times to carry out some large job. The entire collective worked together. People mastered the difficult

trades of carpenter, cabinetmaker, bricklayer. Enthusiasts worked from sunrise to sunset, taking no days off or holidays. People put their efforts and their personal savings into the necessary job.

The chief assistant of the individual cooperative home-builders was the state: in the construction of roads, utility lines, electrical supply lines, in the choice of plans, in providing materials and transportation services.

Why, then, in this important matter, has the enthusiasm died down nowadays?

Without a doubt, in order to begin such a serious undertaking as the building of one's own home, it is necessary to have a definite amount of capital. However, having some minimum for the beginning of the operations, it is also possible to get by without any large household savings. The state will give a loan for everything -- for the construction, for the utilities, and for the gasification. Gosbank benefits have been increasing from year to year. The enterprises in individual instances can pay off a considerable part of the loan, and sometimes the complete loan.

The creditor waits and looks for borrowers, but he cannot find anyone who wants a loan. Manager of the Sokol branch of Gosbank, Yu. Chakov, emphasizes:

"In the 1950's and 1960's there were as many as 100 borrowers, but now there are practically none."

That's some kind of arithmetic!

Can it be that all the carpenters, cabinetmakers, and bricklayers in Russia have died out? No one can say that. If a person wants to do it, he can successfully build his own house.

A major cause for the small volumes of individual construction is the unsatisfactory supplying of materials. From year to year there has been a reduction in the funds. In 1981 the shipment to the Russian Consumer Cooperative of lumber as compared with 1970 was reduced by 9 percent; prefabricated wooden homes, by 41 percent; window glass, by 23 percent; and rolled ferrous metals, by 17 percent.

Another factor is the inability, or even more, the lack of desire, to use local building materials, the orientation on having everything shipped in, even though it comes from somewhere far away, just so long as it's nice and ready-made. Housewarmings under people's own roofs have become infrequent in Vologda Oblast as a result of unfinished operations carried out by the architects and planners. There has more than enough noisy discussion about what a rural home should be like. The result of the arguments, strange as it seems, has been the birth of the typical ... would you believe? ... cottage [kottedzh]. The concept of the "rustic cottage" [izba] apparently seems too unfashionable, too down-to-earth, too archaic. Those fancy cottages, if anyone takes the risk of wanting one, will cost, in round numbers, as much as 30,000 rubles or more, whereas a hand-hewn five-walled rustic cottage plus shed, bath house, and garage would cost much less.

In most of the designs, one important element of the northern home has been forgotten -- the Russian stove. Currently the creative function has been taken away from the individual builder. And yet the peasant has always been everything himself -- the architect, the customer, and the state commission. And it must be admitted that he coped with the situation rather well. One delights at the outward appearance of many of the homes, the convenient placement of the structures, and the landscaping of the area.

The lessening of individual construction is linked with circumstances not only of an organizational nature, but also of a psychological nature. One of the administrators of the rayon that is a neighbor of ours once asked me a question and then answered it himself, saying, "For every builder of ours there are ten inspectors."

Obviously one cannot get along without inspection, but one should not allow the situation to get to the point of absurdity, when individual builders, like a sales lady, impale on a nail receipts, demands, accounts payable in constant expectation of an audit. At best, as was the case with mechanizer Ganin, the building of a home causes the surprise of the onlookers. At worst, he causes distrust and suspicion: as the expression goes, you can't make stone palaces from righteous labors.

With enviable ease the local agencies assume control of the individual structures, if one is discussing the prohibition of repairing them or transporting them. The expansion of enterprises invariably is carried out at the expense of personal possessions. A nine-story building is going to be erected here, they say, and they point to a map of a block for individual home construction. Not farther away, not closer, neither to the left, nor to the right, but right here! People see that and they have heard plenty about the difficulties of construction -- "just get involved with your own house, and you'll learn how much a pound of trouble costs."

The peasant or the city dweller does not have any desire to build his personal nest when the guaranteeing of the constitutional right to housing is frequently seen only in the apartments of enterprises and institutions, since it is cheaper and not particularly troublesome that way. It is absolutely simple: get in line and wait. And so they do wait. Five, ten, or even 20 years. They live in private apartments, and families of three or four persons crowd into dormitories. Young, healthy, capable men who are completely able to build homes and could very easily handle Gosbank loans. Many people have got out of the habit of thinking that, with their own hands and their personal savings, they are capable of helping both themselves and society to resolve this very important social task.

At our club houses and houses of culture we have all kinds of clubs, courses, and sections -- dressmaking, sewing, photography, automobile, model ships. But who has ever heard of a carpentry or cabinetmaker's club, or a housewarming club where you can learn how to complete jobs that were not finished? . . . We sometimes do not have enough efficiency. Or the ability to give an applied nature to a pleasant occupation in our moments of relaxation.



Our country is not poor, and neither are we, each taken separately. Then why can't we take on a housewarming at our own expense?

A housewarming is always a holiday, and one under one's own roof is doubly a holiday. A person who has created that deserves the most profound respect.

5075

CSO: 1800/76

## NATIONAL

### CENTRALIZED PLANNING LEAVES SUBSIDIARY FARMS IN DARK

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by Ye. Bystrov, director of the Industriya Sovkhoz, Murmansk Oblast: "At Latitudes Close to the Pole: The Food Program -- Tasks, Practice, Problems"]

[Text] The good deeds of the workers in the Apatit Association are widely known. Under the severe conditions of the Far North they produce the "stone of fertility" -- the raw material for the production of phosphorus fertilizers. The thoughts of the miners are directed at making the more effective use of the storerooms of Khibin, and increasing the shipment of concentrate for the mineral-fertilizers industry.

Working alongside the apatite miners are the laborers on the fields and animal farms of the Industriya Sovkhoz -- the association's subsidiary farm. They provide the population of the industrial zone of the cities of Kirovsk and Apatit with milk, meat, eggs, early potatoes, and fresh vegetables.

People usually speak about the subsidiary farm as being an auxiliary type of production. Our Industriya Sovkhoz is a subsidiary one probably in name only.

Take the following figures, for example. Every year we sell output valued at almost 10 million rubles. Every day Industriya delivers to public-nutrition organizations and the trade network 20-22 tons of milk, 50,000-70,000 dietic eggs, 2.5 tons of meat, and two tons of hothouse vegetables. And at the end of the summer and during the autumn, an additional 15-20 tons of potatoes. It would be complicated in bring all this produce into the transpolar area simply from other places.

The Industriya Sovkhoz has 2,800 hectares of arable land, 2.3 hectares of winter hothouses, more than 4000 head of cattle, 6000 hogs, and 200,000 chickens. What, though, does our land produce? What is the productivity of the animal farms? From each cow we obtain each year almost 4000 kilograms of milk, and from each laying hen, 210 eggs. The average daily weight increase in animals being fattened is 490 grams. Each hectare of potatoes

produces up to 140 quintals of tubers; each square meter of covered ground, 45 kilograms of vegetables. We obtain these results at a latitude that is close to the North Pole, where even the most visionary authors have decided not to predict the development of agricultural production.

The sovkhoz began to develop especially successfully after the March 1965 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The volume of gross output during that period increased by 2.8 times.

At the present time Industriya has carried out the specialization and concentration of production. The second and third sections have been united. They now raise young cattle. We keep the cows in areas with complete mechanization. We have built fodder shops, calf houses, and hog houses. A two-shift system and a seven-hour work day have been introduced on the animal farms.

Considerable changes have occurred in vegetable husbandry. A job that has been difficult for the farm, and that is continuing to be difficult, is the plowing. Plowing in the usual sense is practically nonexistent on Kola Peninsula. We drain the swamps, we remove the rocks from the sectors of the foothills, and we apply humus, peat, mineral fertilizers, and lime. On this land we grow fodder crops.

We get a large amount of aid in the developing of production from the collective at the Apatit Association, its leadership, and the party and trade-union organizations. That aid has become especially noticeable during the past decade. In 1964 the association allocated 300,000 rubles to the Industriya Sovkhoz. During the 8th Five-Year Plan that amount was quintupled; in the 9th it reached 2.5 million rubles a year; and in the 10th, 3.4 million rubles a year.

At first glance, the sovkhoz seems to be expensive for the enterprise. But the cost of produce that is brought here in fresh form is considerably higher than the cost of that which is produced locally. I might note in addition that our meat, milk, and vegetables are cheaper than the average for the specialized sovkhozes in Murmansk Oblast. At one time the enterprises in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and the other branches decided not to have "agrarian shops," and transferred them to the balance sheet of the oblast administration of agriculture. And . . . then they began to suffer losses. Now the people both in Monchegorsk and in other cities have again undertaken the organization of subsidiary farms.

It must be admitted that even our achievements could be greater. Unfortunately, the further growth of the sovkhoz development in the 11th Five-Year Plan has been slowed down. That was caused by a number of objective factors. For example, the shortage of fodders makes it impossible to increase the number of head of livestock and poultry. But, according to the computations made by specialists, the state of affairs at Industriya can be considerably improved. For that purpose it is planned to develop our own forage base. By relying on what? We shall complete the reorganization of the existing land and shall assimilate no less than 300 hectares of new plowland.

In the light of the decisions of the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee we are improving the technological processes and the organization of production, and are improving people's working and everyday living conditions. We are attempting to increase our contribution to the implementation of the Food Program. But there are problems which we cannot resolve by our own efforts. It would seem that it would be desirable to give the subsidiary farms rights that are equivalent to those of the other farms, because what is occurring now? The sovkhozes in the oblast, for the 11th Five-Year Plan, have been given precise prospects, and specific limits for technology, fertilizers, and fodders. But we are working blindly, with no knowledge of our own material capabilities, or how many funds will be allocated for tomorrow. And just try planning production under those conditions.

It would be desirable to extend to the subsidiary farms the purchase prices that have been established for the sovkhozes and kolkhozes, with the payment of the appropriate markups. At the present time we sell at purchase prices only the products that are going to enterprises. Our workers are given no material incentive to overfulfill the planned assignments.

In conformity with the explanation provided by USSR Goskomtrud, which was coordinated with AUCCTU, the farms of industrial enterprises with an annual volume of produce sales of more than 300,000 rubles are called sovkhozes. The Industriya Sovkhoz is one of the latter. But the planning and statistical agencies do not recognize that.

People might ask, what difference does that make? Well, there is a difference, and it is an important one. Here is an example. In Novgorod Oblast we maintain a branch for the production of coarse fodders. The enterprises in the Minsel'khoz system ship fodders by rail as agricultural freight with a 50-percent rebate. But we have to ship them at full value.

Or take another example. The outstripping growth of the number of head of livestock and poultry requires an increase in fodder and feed production. During the past two five-year plans, by means of the efforts of the Murmanskmelioratsiya Association of Glavnechernozemvodstroy, Industriya carried out the reorganization of more than a thousand hectares. Those operations must also be carried out subsequently. But since 1981, on instructions from the main administration, they have been discontinued. Why? Well, because, they explain to us, the subsidiary farm is not part of the Minsel'khoz system. . .

In organization, in the reinforcement of the subsidiary farms, one has a reliable source for supplementing the country's food reserves. Consequently, the questions linked with the work of the agrarian shops of industry and construction projects must be decided in a timely, thorough, and combined manner.

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CSO: 1800/76

## NATIONAL

### CHERNENKO BOOK ON LENINIST STYLE IN PARTY WORK REVIEWED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 8, Aug 83 (signed to press 1 Aug 83)  
pp 36-42

[Unattributed review: "Along the Course of Struggle and Creativity. (On the Publication of K.U. Chernenko's Book 'To Assert the Leninist Style in Party Work')"]

[Text] Communists, all the Soviet people and those fighting for the interests and ideals of the workers and for freedom and democracy in the world are ceremonially marking a notable historical date, namely the birth of the Bolshevik Party, the party of the new type, the party of the working class, socialist revolution and communist creativity. In the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 80th Anniversary of the Second Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party Congress" the enormous significance of this notable event is shown and the rich historical experience of the CPSU and also the most important directions and tasks in its work at the present stage are dealt with.

Today, the main content in the activity of the party and people is determined by implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the consistent perfection of developed socialism. This presupposes a further upsurge in production forces, a strengthening of the Soviet state's economic and defensive might, and the development of collectivist social relations, Soviet statehood and democracy, and science and culture.

The CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, which considered urgent questions of ideological and mass political party work, has become an important milestone along our country's road of socialist progress. The program speech of CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade Yu.V. Andropov, the report of CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary comrade K.U. Chernenko, and the plenum resolution offer a precise and clear exposition of the need to raise all our ideological, educational and propaganda work to the level of those great and complex tasks that the Soviet people are today resolving in the process of perfecting developed socialism.

Resolution of the complex of these new tasks requires further enhancement of the leading role of the CPSU in the life of society, efficacy in the efforts of party committees and primary party organizations, and improvement in the style, form and methods of their work.

In this connection K.U. Chernenko's recently published book "To Assert the Leninist Style in Party Work"\*, in which a deep analysis is made of the multifaceted activity of the party in the practical implementation of its general course of communist creation, is of great interest.

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The book treats a broad range of urgent problems of CPSU domestic and foreign policy. The focus is on the party course toward efficient production and its intensification, improvements in management of the economy, and implementation of the party's most important instructions associated with concern for the well-being of the Soviet person. Much space in the book is given over to the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum. The USSR Food Program adopted by this plenum and its implementation are characterized as a new stage in party agrarian policy, signifying a more pronounced turn in all sectors of the national economy toward solving the problems of a further upsurge in agricultural production, developing the agrarian-industrial complex, and insuring for the country an uninterrupted supply of food products and raw materials.

The material in the book is varied in terms of subject matter but unified by a central theme, namely the Leninist style in party and state work. "A key role in the matter of improving party leadership and in fulfilling the plans outlined by the party and in the country's entire life," K.U. Chernenko writes, "belongs to the Leninist style of work in all elements of the party, state and management apparatus." (page 34).

Life and the times themselves demand from party committees and primary party organizations energetic efforts aimed at improving the quality of organizational, political and ideological-educational work among the masses and at asserting a Leninist style of work in the activity of all our cadres. It is a question of the kind of style in which are organically combined assiduity and discipline and the creative approach and bold initiative and a sense of enterprise; support for what is new and progressive and the ability to make it universally available; comprehensive consideration of the attitude of the masses and the ability to lead them; a sense of what is current and a sense of organization in work and intolerance of speechifying, flamboyance, and the paper methods of leadership; a sense of the practical and the businesslike approach and an aspiration to reach major goals; collective leadership and personal responsibility; a critical, intolerant attitude toward shortcomings and immediate adoption of measures to eliminate them; a high principledness and exactingness toward oneself and toward others and the display of modesty and simplicity in everything, real honesty, humaneness, goodwill, and respect for and trust in people.

V.I. Lenin had no patience with flamboyance, ostentation or phrase-mongering, which lead to sterility and inaction and reinforce stagnation and routinism. He emphasized that "what we need is not words but action."\*\*

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\* K.U. Chernenko. "Utverzhdai' leninskiy stil' v partiynoy rabote" Moscow, 1983, 574 pages.

\*\* V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 44, p 108.

In asserting a businesslike style, the party organizations strive everywhere to establish the strictest control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption so that all the healthy elements in the labor collective and the democratic principles in production management put down deep roots and become an organic intergal part of economic leadership, whose first precept is the strictest observance and enhancement of socialist discipline in the very broadest sense of the word--labor, technological, state, and planning-and-financial.

V.I. Lenin considered the question of cultivating the new labor discipline and its correct organization to be fundamental not only in economic but also political matters, and its resolution as a most important task in the great struggle of the working class to create and consolidate the new social order. Party measures in accordance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum, aimed at a comprehensive strengthening of discipline and order in production and at improving organization in the national economy, do not constitute some short-term campaign. They are the direct continuation of the steadfast and painstaking work done in the Soviet state since the very first days of its existence.

Lenin repeatedly turned to the problem of asserting socialist labor discipline. In his work "The Next Tasks for Soviet Power" he wrote: "It is essential to consolidate what we have gained and to consolidate what we have decreed, legislated, discussed and planned, in the stable forms of daily labor discipline. This is the most difficult but also the most thankful task since its resolution will give us socialist orders." \* In his speech to the 3rd All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, Lenin again focused attention on questions of labor discipline, and he emphasized that this is "the linchpin of all economic construction."\*\* Lenin's appraisal of the enormous significance of the role of discipline and labor organization in building the new society is undoubtedly also topical in our times.

The most important task in improving the entire sphere of economic leadership, namely management, planning and the observance and strengthening of labor and production discipline, has been brought up at all recent party congresses, including the 26th CPSU Congress. It was posed with special keenness at the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum. At the plenum, CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade Yu.V. Andropov said: "It is essential to create the kind of conditions, economic and organizational, that would provide incentive for quality, productive labor, initiative and enterprise. And, contrariwise, bad work, inaction and irresponsibility should affect in the most direct and irreversible way material reward, service position and the moral authority of workers... It is essential to wage a more decisive struggle against any violations of party, state and labor discipline. I am confident that in this we shall enjoy the complete support of the party and trade union organizations and the support of all Soviet people."\*\*\*

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\* V.I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, Vol 36, pp 202-203

\*\* V.I. Lenin. op. cit. Vol 40, p 301.

\*\*\* Yu.V. Andropov. Selected Speeches and Articles, Moscow, 1983, pp 210-211.



The question of strengthening labor discipline--one of the most important sources of labor productivity growth--is constantly at the party's center of attention. And this is natural. Under present conditions, the significance of labor discipline is growing in connection with the enormous increase in the scales of production.

Speaking to voters in the Kuybyshevskiy electoral district in Moscow city on 23 November 1981, K.U. Chernenko said: "High discipline is the basic ABC of labor culture, an essential requirement in improving modern production; and at the same time it is a most important principle in our way of life. It could be said that it is a moral standard in socialist society. Strengthening discipline is a real reserve for the upsurge of the economy that can provide rapid and high material results without special expenditures." (p 68). In his speech at the CPSU Krasnoyarsk kraykom plenum on 15 June 1982, the author again stressed that "we speak a great deal about discipline. The pity is that the words are not always backed up with painstaking, daily organizational work, the precise verification of execution, or a flexible, well-considered cadre policy. Manifestations of lack of discipline are not everywhere being met with immediate and sharp reaction on the part of the party organizations." (p 133)

One of the main reasons for these and similar negative phenomena is the shortcomings in leadership and in management of the national economy. And the level of leadership is a direct function of the maturity and ability of our cadres. This is why cadre policy and concern for the placement and education of cadres is considered the core of party work, a powerful lever with whose aid the party influences all spheres of public life.

Concrete question of cadre policy are dealt with extensively in the book. In developing Leninist traditions, the author notes, the party has created an integrated system for cadre formation, and it pays unremitting attention to cadre selection, placement, education and training. Valuable experience in effective cadre policy has been gained in the Moscow, Leningrad, Ukrainian and other party organizations. "Here," K.U. Chernenko writes, "the political, business and moral qualities of people are comprehensively weighed. Here, importance is attached to insuring that in addition to appropriate political and special training, the comrades put forward are able to work with people and have a rich experience of life, as they say, "cooked in the people's pot," and understand people's needs and interests." (p 88)

It is pointed out in the book that one inherent feature of the Leninist style of work and an effective tool for the education and training of cadres and the broad working masses is criticism and self-criticism. Lenin taught that in its leading activity the party is obliged to make use of a realistic and soberly critical method in assessing its own experience and the results of work that has been done. This means, first, that what has been done should not be exaggerated, although achievements should not be underestimated, and second, that it is essential to see shortcomings and errors clearly, not to hide them from the masses, and to reveal the causes and take the necessary steps to correct the state of affairs.

The CPSU attaches enormous significance to the broad development of criticism and self-criticism, whose role in our society is constantly growing. It should not be forgotten, the author notes, that criticism and self-criticism constitute an important form of practical participation by the masses in management and in the day-to-day resolution of great and small public and state matters. It is also acquiring increasing significance as a means of raising the level of organizational and ideological-educational work.

"The basis for the development of criticism and self-criticism," it is pointed out in the book, "is absolute observance of the Leninist norms of party life" (p 486). As is known, this is incompatible with the fear of openly putting up for discussion the urgent problems of social significance, attempts to sidestep thorny questions, and remaining silent about shortcomings and difficulties. The author constantly emphasizes that the main thing in criticism and self-criticism is results, efficacy, and a deliberate approach to the immediate correction of errors and shortcomings.

"Notwithstanding," K.U. Chernenko writes, "in practice we still encounter instances of formal attitudes on the part of individual leaders toward critical remarks passed downward, the desire to brush them aside, and to cover themselves with just general promises. When you read some of the responses to critical signals from workers it appears that comrades are reacting immediately to criticism. But when you look into the matter it is only the semblance that is being created: the most natural written answers are there for all to see. And it is quite impermissible that the very same shortcomings be pointed out repeatedly, but practical steps are not being taken to eliminate them." (pp 486-487)

When speaking at meetings, some leading workers criticize shortcomings in general without naming the people guilty of them. Criticism in this kind of impersonal form is, of course, ineffective. Our party, the author notes, is concerned with direct and open and bold and principled criticism aimed both against the shortcomings and against the people specifically responsible for them.

The attitude toward criticism is one sign of a worker's political maturity and his correct understanding of his duty to the party and the people. The CPSU Central Committee obliges party organs to correct and if necessary punish those who react incorrectly to criticism and try to victimize people for it.

To assert a Leninist spirit of self-criticism and intolerance of shortcomings in all labor collectives is the task put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum. Its resolution, the author notes, will promote the development of real initiative and creativity and enhance the responsibility of each person for the successful fulfillment of the plans for the building of communism.

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The further Soviet society proceeds along the road of the building of communism, the more significant the problems of quality and effectiveness in party ideological

work among the masses become for success in the matter. Serious and crucial tasks in this field were defined by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent party documents.

"A convincing and specific demonstration of our achievements, serious analysis of the new problems constantly being engendered by life, and a freshness of thought and word," comrade Yu.V. Andropov noted in his report devoted to the 60th anniversary of the USSR, "are the road to improving all our propaganda, which should always be truthful and realistic, and also interesting and intelligible, and this means more effective."\*

At the present stage, ideological work is playing a particularly important role. It must be focused more than ever on the key positions of the building of communism and be linked increasingly closely with the urgent problems of party domestic and foreign policy.

In K.U. Chernenko's book the cardinal questions of party ideological work, the ideological-political education of the workers, and the formation of the new man are dealt with extensively. Using a broad selection of material the author shows that in recent times the party organizations and the means of mass propaganda and information have done a great deal in this direction. A process of restructuring is taking place in various sectors and spheres of ideological-educational work, which is coming closer to life and to the present tasks of the party, and to people's vital needs and requirements. Content is being enriched and the forms of ideological activity are being diversified.

At the same time, the concrete-historical situation and the domestic and foreign conditions in which our development is taking place require, as was stressed by the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, further renewal, enrichment and actualization of the content of ideological-educational work and its forms and methods, and greater aggressiveness in all our propaganda.\*\*

It is noted in the book that in cultivating in the workers ideological conviction and organization, the party has never pinned its hopes on spontaneity or laissez-faireism, nor does it do so now. Today too, under the conditions of developed socialism, it regards the cultivation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook among Soviet people as a most important ideological-educational, political and organizational task. At the present stage the party is persistently implementing measures to further improve and enhance the forms and methods of ideological education for the workers, and, as the author stresses, "conducting a creative search for new ways and means to strengthen influence over hearts and minds." (p 376).

It is pointed out in the book that we have at our disposal a powerful theoretical armamentarium for solving the fundamental problems facing us today. This is primarily materialist dialectics--the most comprehensive and profound teaching on development. It is precisely this that largely predetermines the unfading creative force of Marxism-Leninism, arming us with a single true theory and method for the cognition and transformation of social life.

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\* op. cit. p 12

\*\* Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum 14-15 June 1983, Moscow, 1983 p 30

In first place here, the author notes, obviously stands the key, initial category of Marxist-Leninist dialectic--the category of contradiction and its application to the study of processes and phenomena in our society. As in any developing social organism, contradictions are inherent in socialism. Herein lies the art of political leadership, of scientific management, so that the contradictions can be revealed in good time and the objective and subjective factors giving rise to them studied and ways of overcoming them planned. There is no doubt that the role of theoretical research, generalizations and conclusions and scientific practical recommendations is particularly great here.

Important tasks in this direction are being placed before us by social scientists, but unfortunately they are not all at the level of the new requirements. How else can we explain the fact that we still encounter thoughtless repetitions of outworn formulas and superficial commentaries on generally recognized truths? "Evidently," K.U. Chernenko writes, "this points not only to inertia or laziness of thought but also to an inability to deal critically with generalizations made previously that have not been confirmed by life." (p 105)

As the plans for the 11th Five-Year Plan show, the party is advancing increasingly large-scale and complex economic and sociopolitical tasks. New generations of people are constantly entering into life. In order to become the conscious creators of their own destinies and active builders of the new society they must have a proper grounding in the ideological-theoretical and political experience of all preceding fighters for socialism and communism.

Neither must the fact be ignored that the attacks of our class enemy continue against the ideological and moral values of socialism and that the attempts to influence the consciousness of Soviet people are becoming increasingly refined. Thus, because of these and other circumstances the significance of ideological work is growing immeasurably.

Practice confirms that serious success in ideological-educational work is achieved primarily where the word of the lecturer and propagandist is accompanied by model organization of matters, improvements in peoples working and everyday conditions, the strengthening of labor discipline and increased labor productivity.

This can be seen in the activities of many of the party organizations in Moscow and Leningrad, Kiev and Minsk, Georgia and Azerbaijan and other republics and oblasts where constant concern is shown for observing the unity and organic link between ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and management work. Here is precisely the key to effectiveness in party ideological work.

The author of the book devotes much attention to the Leninist tenet that the ideological education of the Soviet person is not limited merely to the mastery of knowledge about communism. As Lenin pointed out, its essence is "to show the application of the principles of communism in action."\* To be an ideological person means to see and recognize one's own role and place in the common ranks of those fighting for communism and for the triumph of its ideals, and to subordinate all one's life and activities to the high ideals of serving the people.

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\* V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 39, p 360.

The party's ideological influence on the masses is growing and it is becoming increasingly effective, touching on the most vital questions of the age. The forms and methods of propaganda and agitation are being improved. But at the same time their quality does not fully meet the rising educational and cultural level of the workers and the degree to which they are informed or their new needs. The habit of adjusting life to abstract schemes and of sidestepping the new problems and contradictions that life engenders is being overcome only slowly. There is an obvious underestimation of the dynamic nature of socioeconomic processes and the spiritual life of our society, and of the acuity of the ideological struggle in the international arena.

Experience shows that in the ideological work of some party committees pretentiousness and the assessment of results not according to the quality but only the quantity of measures have not been eradicated, and that there is still an attachment to rubber-stamping, while the content of propaganda and agitation is extremely superficial in its connection with the life of the labor collectives and their concrete political and economic tasks. And what is particularly inadmissible, political and economic training is conducted in the collective, lectures and reports are presented, and party, trade union and Komsomol meetings are held, while drunkards and violators of labor discipline are sometimes not subjected to public discussion. Moreover, in some places bonuses are even given to shirkers and the title of shock worker of communist labor is reconfirmed for them. This kind of practice is incompatible with the Leninist principles of work. It does harm and reflects poorly on the moral atmosphere in the labor collectives.

And today the moral factor largely determines the results of our plans and labor efficiency and quality and the way and style of life. Its role is growing even more in light of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum, which demand enhanced responsibility of each communist for his assignment. As the representative of the people, the communist acts as the bearer of the high ideals and moral qualities inherent in the party.

The authority of the communist is determined not by his rank, nor his duties, nor his eloquence. "Selflessness and principledness," K.U. Chernenko writes, "clarity of political thought and a sharp sense of the new, the highest exactingness toward himself and toward others, tact, modesty, and simplicity in behavior and everyday life--this is what a communist should be, whether he is a rank-and-file party member or a leader." (p 63)

In this regard life offers us a mass of positive examples. The party organizations and the mass information and propaganda media, it is emphasized in the book, should bring these examples more often to people's attention. And the emphasis should be laid not only on the labor achievements of a given communist and his ability to lead a collective (which, of course, is also very important), but also his demonstration of integrity and the spiritual richness of his personality, his moral purity, his strength and beauty of soul, and his ability to teach and educate people, offering fine examples of comradeship, unselfishness, selflessness, and unity of word and deed.

The author notes that questions of the moral status of a collective, the ideological and moral tempering of people and their everyday behavior and behavior within the family, and the cultivation of decency, honesty and collectivism are appearing increasingly on the agendas for party meetings and party committee bureaus and plenums. At the same time, the party organizations must raise in every possible way the level of the moral demands made of communists. Self-conceit and dissimulation, formalism and indifference toward people, unrealistic assurances, and talk instead of specific action are all phenomena that are profoundly alien to the very nature of our system. And a decisive and daily struggle must be waged against recurrences of them.

As is known, the authority of our leading cadres is high and they are afforded great rights and great trust. But we find the kind of workers who link all this merely with what they think they deserve. "And so these 'bosses' of a city or a rayon appear," the author writes, "who think that their high position gives them immunity against everyone and everything and that their actions can go unpunished."

Guided by glorious Leninist tradition, the party unceasingly conducts a direct and frank dialogue with the masses, listens carefully to their advice, suggestions and remarks, and reacts to them in a businesslike way. "The party takes steps," it says in the book, "to make political information and ideological work free from elements of formalism, dogmatism, and rubber-stamping; and to insure that people who are entrusted with this important sector are well trained and do not fear keen questions and discussion; that our lecturers and other speakers strive to establish real, frank contact with their audiences; and that our press is an intelligent and authoritative 'interlocutor' for readers, knowing what worries them and meditating on any event with them with a knowledge of the matter." (p 377)

Much attention in the book is given to the scientific nature of the activity of the party and state apparatus. The author points out that under the conditions of developed socialism the role and significance of the scientific factor in party leadership is increasing steadily. In our times it is impossible to get by without constant reliance on science, without a solid scientific justification for the daily activities of all elements of the party and state apparatus and its workers.

The author of the book develops the thought that the scientific approach should penetrate all aspects of our society's material and spiritual life so that the achievements of science may be introduced into practice everywhere, so that, to use Lenin's words, "with us, science does not become a dead letter or a trendy phrase (and this, it is no secret, happens with us very often), but that science really becomes part of our flesh and blood and is transformed into an integral element of our everyday life, fully and substantially."\*

The situation in today's world is characterized by an exacerbation of the ideological struggle. One after another the ideologues of imperialism wage

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\* V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 45, p 391.



propaganda campaigns against socialism and they persistently spread anti-Sovietism and anticommunism and attack Marxist-Leninist teaching, striving to discredit its basic principles and ideals and to cast doubt on the leading role of the communist party and socialist democracy. Here they are pursuing far-reaching goals: to push the socialist states from the path they have chosen, or at least to delay the development of socialism.

In the struggle against bourgeois ideology and revisionism, it points out in the book, an exceptional role is played by the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. For the convincing nature of criticism of bourgeois and revisionist falsifications of Marxist-Leninist theory on and the practice of real socialism is strengthened enormously precisely when its arguments stem from the active and creative development of the social sciences and the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. K.U. Chernenko writes that "communists and all Soviet people must constantly increase their political vigilance and mobilize all means for the struggle against hostile ideology and made more effective use of the possibilities for the ideological education of the masses available to us." (p 382)

In K.U. Chernenko's book "To Assert the Leninist Style in Party Work," using as examples the activity of the CPSU Central Committee, the local party organizations and the labor collectives, the growing level of the party's political and organizational work and the creativity and initiative of communist and the broad working masses are convincingly shown. While throwing light on the positive side of problems, at the same time the author offers a critical analysis of what has been achieved and he reveals the shortcomings and omissions and indicates ways for overcoming them. Undoubtedly the publication of this book is a major event. Profound and substantial, it will offer real help for ideological cadres in improving organizational and ideological-educational work to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum.

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## NATIONAL

### PRAVDA PRAISES WORK OF HISTORIAN OF RELIGION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by M. Nechkina, academician: "The Living Voices of History"]

[Text] The path of Soviet historical science has been marked by an unchanging interest in the role of the popular masses as a subject not only of material production but also of spiritual creativity.

The people were never silent, but the more remote the times become, the quieter their voice seems from the vantage point of the present day. It was not the people which remained silent. The written culture, which was monopolized by the ruling classes, did not permit the people to express themselves. But should we reconcile ourselves to the fact that their wrathful and terrible words of protest, the holy words of their social ideals should remain lost in the ages? But perhaps they have not been lost? Could it be that not all the resources of scientific knowledge have been put into use in order to return the living voices of those who in remote times labored and created, thought and suffered, those who created the history of the Motherland?

These are the questions which the research scholar A. I. Klibanov has posed, having devoted to them more than twenty years of the most mature period of his scientific creative work. He has worked on their solution. The fruits of his labor--a cycle of monographs on the history of Russian popular freethinking and religion in the period from the 14th through the 20th centuries,<sup>1</sup> issued by the Nauka Publishing House with a total amount of 160 printer's sheets--have been put up for the competition for a USSR State Prize.

This scholar is an outstanding specialist on the history of religion and free-thinking. This is a rare field of specialization; nevertheless, it is a trend of scientific inquiry which has fully justified itself in resurrecting the spiritual culture of the people during the periods of feudalism and capitalism, periods which retained vestiges of serfdom.

Doctor of Historical Sciences A. I. Klibanov has shown that under the conditions of serfdom, and then under those of the semi-serfdom society in Russia, when the dominant ideology was that of religion, and its bearer--the church--advocated the moral sanctions of the social relations prevalent at that time, the feelings and thoughts of the toiling masses were very frequently expressed in the

languages of religious concepts and images. There were many of them, these "languages," which were employed by the popular ideologists at various stages of historical development in order to talk about the demands and ideals of the dependent population.

But these works do not contain a "Babylonian mixture of languages." The researcher, whose field of vision includes more than six centuries of the history of the popular struggle, has revealed the unity within the formal diversity of manifestations of class protest by the oppressed people. For the first time he has raised up enormous layers of materials which have imprinted the indignation of the toiling masses in religious forms.

The geography of this historian's researches encompassed the archival repositories of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Baku, Tbilisi, Kalinin, Krasnoyarsk, and Minusinsk. They revealed to him many new sources characterizing the spiritual life of the people. In particular, they clearly elucidated the Reformation-Humanistic movement in Russia from the 14th through the 16th centuries, as well as the popular social utopia which was prevalent throughout the entire history of the class struggle, ranging from the epoch of Ancient Rus' to the last third of the 19th century inclusive.

The researcher has thoroughly analyzed the phenomena studied by him in their historical dynamics. Religious freethinking gradually became transformed into philosophical freethinking. In the shift of the forms of the popular social utopia their peasant-democratic core became increasingly clear. And, on the whole, the historical roots of advanced (including socialist) Russian social thought are demonstrated as going back into the depths of the centuries and into the thick of the popular masses.

A. I. Klibanov's works are marked by innovation, importance of the problems set forth, and a flawless analysis of primary sources which have hitherto not been studied.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Reformatsionnyye dvizheniya v Rossii XIV--pervoy poloviny XVI vv." [Reformation Movements in Russia from the 14th through the First Half of the 16th Centuries] (1960), "Istoriya religioznogo sektantstva v Rossii" [A History of Religious Sectarianism in Russia] (1965), "Religioznoye sektantstvo i sovremennost'" [Religious Sectarianism and the Present Day] (1969), "Narodnaya sotsial'naya utopiya v Rossii. Period feodalizma" [Popular Social Utopia in Russia: The Period of Feudalism] (1977), "Narodnaya sotsial'naya utopiya v Rossii. XIX vek" [Popular Social Utopia in Russia: The 19th Century] (1978).

2384

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NATIONAL

#### LOCAL OFFICIALS THROWN OUT OF PARTY FOR HOUSING MISAPPROPRIATIONS

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 16, Aug 83 (signed to press 9 Aug 83)  
p 46

[Unattributed article: "Stern Punishment for Violations of Party and State Discipline"]

[Text] The Committee for Party Control under the CC CPSU has examined the appeal by V. L. Nagorskikh against the decision of a plenum of the Belgorodskaya obkom of the CPSU regarding his expulsion from the ranks of the party.

While working as the chairman of the ispolkom of the Starooskol'skiy City Soviet of People's Deputies, V. L. Nagorskikh did not make sure that there was the proper control over the fulfillment of city housing and social and cultural facilities construction plans, permitted violations of the housing legislation, and abused his official position.

While there were a large number of city residents in need of improving their housing conditions, the gorispolkom allocated apartments in new houses to individual leading workers in city organizations who were sufficiently provided with living space.

When a departmental residential building was commissioned in 1982 the gorispolkom was given seven apartments for disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War and for the families of soldiers who had been lost in battle and others who had gone into the reserve. However, the gorispolkom allocated these apartments to a number of leading workers who were well provided with housing. Similar liberties were taken in tenanting another building.

V. L. Nagorskikh himself who lived in a family of four in a comfortable apartment, moved to a new three-room apartment to which an additional one-room apartment was joined through rearranging the lay-out of the apartments.

As a result of the lack of control and connivance of the gorispolkom, there occurred numerous instances in the city of the construction on collective gardening plots of houses whose number of stories exceeded the established standards, and, moreover, deficit construction and finishing materials were illegally diverted for these purposes and, in a number of cases, purchased at artificially low prices.

Making use of the city construction and repair administration, V. L. Nagorskikh also built a garden building according to his individual plan, and with great extravagances had the finish work done on it and the plot improved.

All of this gave rise to justified criticism from the city's workers.

After examining the materials of verified letters on the above issues, the Belgorod obkom of the CPSU has expelled V. L. Nagorskikh from the ranks of the CPSU. He has been removed from his position of authority.

The First Secretary of the Starooskol'skiy Party Gorkom V. N. Tsytsugin has been expelled from the ranks of the CPSU for similar violations and released from his office.

Other leading workers of the city's party and government agencies and also of its economic organizations who have been guilty of violations of party and state discipline have also been called to strict party account.

After considering the appeal by V. L. Nagorskikh, the Committee for Party Control at the CC CPSU has refused to restore him to the ranks of the party.

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NATIONAL

NEW NOVEL ON ROOSEVELT INCLUDES PORTRAIT OF STALIN AS SHREWD POLITICIAN

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 83 p 5

[Excerpt from novel: "An Unfinished Portrait" by Aleksandr Chakovskiy]

[Text] That is the title of a new novel by Lenin Prizewinner, the writer Aleksandr Chakovskiy. The first book of this novel is to be published in the September issue of the journal ZNAMYA.

In April 1945 the 32nd President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was posing for the artist Shumatova, who was painting his portrait. In addressing this episode from the life of the American President, the author of the novel cites numerous reminiscences of Roosevelt. He re-creates the pages of the personal and public life of this outstanding state leader, concentrating, for the most part, on his policy with regard to the Land of the Soviets and his understanding of the need for peaceful co-existence.

The President's sudden death cut short the artist's work on the portrait. The title of the novel speaks about this but not merely about this. What is emphasized here is that the author has not attempted to provide a detailed description of the life of Franklin Roosevelt nor an exhaustive characterization of his complex and, to a large extent, contradictory nature.

Published below is an excerpt from the novel "An Unfinished Portrait."

At the beginning of April they sent Roosevelt a new message from Stalin by a special airplane from Washington. It was written in an abrupt, categorical tone. Roosevelt understood that, in sending him this message, Stalin saw in front of him Churchill, who was above all interested in abrogating the Yalta decisions.

But what were the contents of the letters addressed "Personally and Secretly from Premier I. V. Stalin to President Mr. F. Roosevelt"?

One letter concerned Poland. In it Stalin accused the ambassadors of the United States and Britain of departing from the decisions of the Crimean Conference. At the Conference, Stalin reminded him, it was decided to consider the present Provisional Polish Government as the nucleus of the new Government of National Unity. Nevertheless, the ambassadors of the United States and Britain were ignoring this decision and "placing an equal sign between lone figures from Poland and from London and the Provisional Government of Poland." "Moreover, the matter has gotten to the point," Stalin continued, "that Mr. Harriman declared in the Moscow Commission that it was possible that not a single one of the members of the Provisional Government would be included within the Polish Government of National Unity." After expressing his indignation on this score, Stalin gave a detailed, point-by-point enumeration of all the decisions adopted at Yalta in connection with the Polish question.

Another letter touched upon the "Bern incident." On 5 April Churchill had made an awkward attempt to explain this whole unpleasant story, but with his characteristic Machiavellianism he had sent his "explanation" not to Stalin but rather to Roosevelt. He had been confident that Roosevelt would reply in a spirit advantageous for the Western Allies, and then both letters would be dispatched to the Kremlin as the "unified opinion of Churchill and Roosevelt for the purpose of information." But Roosevelt immediately understood that Stalin would simply laugh at such a reply. Churchill knew about the Bern negotiations, but Roosevelt was completely in the dark.... Naive and clumsy!

In replying to Churchill, Roosevelt, of course, understood that the British prime minister would utilize his letter in a polemic with Stalin.

But Stalin clearly saw through this maneuver and replied not to Churchill but rather to Roosevelt himself.

Stalin's letter was permeated with a wrathful causticity.

"We Russians," he wrote, "think that under the present circumstances at the fronts, when the enemy is faced with the inevitability of surrender, in any meeting with the Germans regarding questions of surrender the representatives of one of the Allies should make sure that the representatives of the other Ally participate in such a meeting.

"...I have already written to you, and I do not consider it superfluous to repeat that under analogous circumstances the Russians would in no case refuse the Americans and British the right to participate in such a meeting."

Hidden within these restrained words was a devastating meaning: Stalin was almost openly accusing Churchill and him, Roosevelt, of treachery. In his letter to Stalin, Churchill had justified his position by stating that in Switzerland the U.S. and British representatives had merely attempted to check out the plenipotentiary authorization of the representative of the commander of Hitler's troops in Italy, Field Marshal Kesselring. Stalin simply ignored these hapless justifications.

After a lengthy period of thought Roosevelt dictated a brief letter to Churchill. In it he gave London to understand that by its clumsy maneuvers the British government could seriously complicate post-war relations among the Allies. And this would mean a serious threat to the cause of post-war peace, a cause which Roosevelt now considered to be paramount in his own life....

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a son of his own century and--most importantly--of his own class. He never seriously thought that in the post-war "House of Good Neighbors" Manila, Bogota, or Bangkok would play the same kind of role as Washington. The leadership of the United States seemed to him to be indisputable and indubitable. But before his very eyes the "Third Reich" was falling to pieces. This disintegration, in essence, began immediately after its Fuhrer had attempted by force of arms to strengthen his own claims to world domination.

As far back as the dawn of this century another United States President--Theodore Roosevelt--wanted to rule the world with the help of a "big stick."

But he, the present-day President, preferred to hold it in "soft gloves." After everything which had occurred in the last few years, the "big stick," would somehow not look good and probably would cause revulsion among the peoples, a desire to tear it away and turn against the person who was waving it about.

...Roosevelt, of course, knew about the research of the renowned Danish physicist, Niels Bohr. The Italian physicist, Enrico Fermi, who had emigrated to America as far back as 1939, had tried in vain to interest the American Department of the Navy in his work. In this same year of 1939 the financier Alexander Sachs came to see Roosevelt with a letter from the famous Einstein. It followed from this letter that splitting the atom could liberate the energy of a colossal force, and, hence, create a terrifying weapon.

Remote from the exact sciences in general and from physics in particular, Roosevelt jokingly asked Sachs:

"What are you trying to do there with this bomb?"

But the more that Sachs began to explain in detail to the President the meaning of the splitting of the atomic nucleus, the more absent-mindedly Roosevelt listened to him.

"Alex," he said, interrupting Sachs, "did you know that my school and university marks were seldom above C's? Did you really think that I would now be able to make anything out of this abracadabra?"

But Sachs told the President that scientists in Fascist Germany, Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman, had already discovered the secret of the atom bomb and were now engaged in creating it. Roosevelt became thoughtful.... No, he did not want to possess such a bomb, but the fact that it could be possessed by Hitler alarmed him. He issued a directive to conduct work along these lines.



The very idea of creating a weapon capable of annihilating hundreds of thousands of people in the course of a few seconds seemed repulsive to Roosevelt.

But the "soft gloves" were needed because, no matter what happened, the world still had to be run. Roosevelt proposed to complete his own life by creating such a firm and lasting peace, to be run with "soft gloves...."

All of Roosevelt's attention was now absorbed by the coming post-war world. He could not help thinking about it even if he knew that he was not fated to see this world.

After finishing the mail from Washington, and sometimes not even reading through all of it, he would move in his wheelchair to another desk.... Spread out here were materials connected with the upcoming Conference in San Francisco.

Roosevelt loved his own children. But since the time when he understood that Hitler had lost the war finally and irrevocably, his favorite child became the idea of the "House of Good Neighbors." For the President to implement this idea meant creating the United Nations Organization.

In thinking about the Conference in San Francisco, Roosevelt himself wanted to provide for everything, beginning with ensuring the safety of the delegates and extending right up to their placement in the conference hall. He kept waving away Hassett, who was reminding him that the President was scheduled to deliver the traditional Jefferson Day speech and that there was less than a week remaining before this day.

Roosevelt used to prepare for all of his public appearances in the most careful manner. But now, while awaiting the arrival of Shumatova and Lucy, he entrusted the task of preparing a draft of his Jefferson Day speech to the National Committee of the Democratic Party. They sent the draft to him, but he rejected it and gave orders that Sam Rosenman be drawn into working on it. However, Rosenman was not in Washington.

"Then let Bob work on the speech," he said to Hassett. He had in mind Robert Sherwood, a writer who was also a member of the narrow circle of persons trusted by the President and who used to work on the drafts of his speeches.

The draft revised by Sherwood still did not satisfy him. The President thought that it would be good to send the document to Hopkins. But this trusted assistant of Roosevelt had fallen seriously ill. Irritated by the fact that he was being dragged away from his favorite occupation, the President ordered that the desk be cleared of papers connected with San Francisco, and he himself sat down to prepare the speech. With a trembling hand he corrected many paragraphs, crossed out a great deal, and inserted a great deal of new material. After reading through the speech, he became convinced that he didn't like it any better than before.

Finally, with an abrupt movement he pushed the manuscript away and after summoning Hassett, stated:

"I can't seem to come up with anything. I'm tired. Tell them to bring the car around. I feel like getting some fresh air."

An outing to be undertaken at such an inopportune time surprised Hassett somewhat. However, he informed Mike Riley and telephoned the garage so that they would bring around the President's Ford.

Riley noticed that if previously the President used to choose the most diverse routes for his automobile rides, now he seemed to prefer only one: to the hill overlooking Warm Springs, its cottages, rural shacks, woods and lakes. After driving up the hill, the President would turn off the engine, put the car in brake, and sit there for a long time silently, gazing off into the distance.

What was it that appeared to him in the empty and silent distance? His native Hyde Park? Devastated Europe? Russia, which had bled but not lost, but doubled its own heroic strength? Or the building of his own embodied dream--the "House of Good Neighbors?"

But could it be that even he, who was not inclined to reflection, a strong-willed man who took great joy in life, confident of his own strength as a pragmatist, was visited in these moments by the fateful thought that he would scarcely be allowed to complete the construction of this "House?"...

According to the United States Constitution, in case of a President's death or incapacity to run the country, his place is automatically assumed by the Vice President....

And so, Truman. It was strange, but Roosevelt really did not know this man very well, even though, taking into account the complex situation in the Democratic Party, he had been compelled to propose his candidacy to the post of Vice President in the last election. Roosevelt did not feel any particular confidence in him. He knew that Truman was energetic, was linked with many industrial magnates, and that his candidacy was decisively supported by the National Committee of the Democratic Party.

But what kind of views did this Truman have on the future of the world? You know, he had declared that it would be fine if Russia and Germany were to mutually bleed each other white! Would he have recognized Russia in 1933? Would he have entered upon a military alliance with her? How would he have conducted himself in the position of President of the United States in Teheran and Yalta?...

Up to now Roosevelt had simply not been concerned about all this. Truman had never been within the circle of his confidants; moreover, Roosevelt regarded the duties of a Vice President as merely those of a formal representation. Let him chair the Senate--that is one of the duties of a Vice President, and let him sometimes attend the sessions of the Cabinet....

No, while sitting in his Ford, Roosevelt hardly ever thought about Truman. Despite his illness and his terrible exhaustion, Roosevelt could not imagine that the time would come when he, Roosevelt, would no longer be alive on the earth.

Furthermore, he always believed that tomorrow would be much better for him than today. He believed in this despite what the doctors said. Now he himself and those around him believed in this very strongly. Everyone was convinced that Lucy Rutherford, whose arrival was only a few days away, would create a miracle.

Was it not the image of this woman which arose before the President's eyes, as he sat in his car on the top of the hill, gazing out into the empty distance?...

2384

CSO: 1800/1650

## NATIONAL

### SIBERIAN NATIONALITY LANGUAGE PROBLEMS, SOLUTIONS DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Moscow VOPROSY YAZYKOZANAIYA in Russian No 4 Jul-Aug 83 carries a 2500-word article by A.I. Fedorov entitled "Nationality Language Problems in Siberia and Their Solution." Fedorov says that economic considerations require greater intercourse among the nationality groups in a single language. At the same time the majority of nationality languages continue to show intense development. The special form taken by this development involves an increase in borrowings from Russian and, via Russian, foreign languages. Hence, while "an active bilingualism is developing" among non-Russians, there is a "parallel process of growing together between the national vernaculars and Russian. The Siberian geo-linguistic picture is a highly variegated one with respect to the balance in different populations between the vernacular languages and Russian. While all languages are, in principle, capable of being expanded to accommodate the concepts of modern, civilized cultures, it would not be expedient to pursue such programs of development in all instances. Owing to the small population size of certain peoples it was inevitable that in some cases school instruction be conducted in Russian after the initial grades. The narrowing of the vernacular's sphere of use in these linguistic communities is an irreversible process. Inasmuch as the vernacular is viable and serves a purpose, its existence merits support, especially as a way of avoiding disharmony between generations, as a means of confirming nationality consciousness and for the gathering of information in that language which is of cultural and scientific value.

"In a special resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the CPSU 'On measures for further economic and social development of the regions inhabited by nationalities of the North' a series of related decisions were specified, including a recommendation by the USSR Academy of Sciences that linguistic and sociological studies on the problems of developing writing systems for the languages of the Northern peoples be conducted. The USSR Ministry of Education, the USSR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, and the RSFSR Council of Ministers are to lend support to the creation of curriculums; the preparation and publishing of textbooks, visual aids and dictionaries for general education schools, pedagogic academies and institutes; and production of visual aids and methodological instructions for pre-school institutions..."

"The first task of linguists and the education establishment today is to facilitate the development of bilingualism so that the younger generation in Siberia and the North may master both the vernacular and the Russian languages in order to restore harmony to communication between the generations and at the same time to develop the culture of these peoples."

Bilingualism in Siberia is developing in two forms: 1) a combination of vernacular with the sort of popular Russian speech one gets from direct association with local Russian dialects and 2) a combination of vernacular with Russian literary language learned in school. It is clear that linguists must aid in achieving the second type of bilingualism.

CSO: 1800/131

## REGIONAL

### BELORUSSIAN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE REVIEWS POOR ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 21 Sep 83 p 1

[Article: "At the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia and the BSSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia [BCP] and the BSSR Council of Ministers have considered the question "Urgent Measures to Assure in 1983 the Fulfillment of the Plan for Capital Construction and the Activation of Capacities and Projects in the Light of the Instructions of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov."

The decree that was adopted states that during the first eight months of 1983 the republic failed to assure the fulfillment of the plan for state capital investments. There was a lag in the construction of capacities and projects having first-priority importance to the country, especially in the Steklovolokno, Bobruyskshina, Polimir, and Bobruyskdrev Associations, in the Khimvolokno Associations in Grodno, Svetlogorsk, and Mogilev, at the Mogilevsel'mash Plant, the Minsk Pinion Plant and the Special Reinforced Concrete Plant in Mikashevichi, as well as a number of enterprises in the chemical industry, and those producing mineral fertilizers.

The branches of the agroindustrial complex used 98 percent of the allocated funds. Construction is proceeding slowly at the Orsha Hybrid Selection Center, the complexes for the breeding and fattening of young cattle on the Lovzhanskiy and Dobrovolets Sovkhozes, the Skidel' Poultry Plant, and projects under Sel'khozkhimiya, and in the combined fodder, food, and meat-and-dairy industries.

Construction is proceeding at insufficient rates at projects in light industry: the plan for construction and installation operations has been fulfilled by only 92 percent. There has been a lag in the construction of capacities at the Kobrin Spinning and Weaving Factory, the Minsk Leather Haberdashery Factory, and the Bobruysk Knitwear Factory, the Grodno Fine-Cloth Combine, the Vitebsk Silk Fabrics Combine, and the Chaussy and Kirovsk Linen Plants.

The allocated funds are being used unsatisfactorily in the construction of projects in public health, occupational-technical education, science, culture, trade, everyday public services, and motor transport. The construction of cooperative housing is being carried out at a low level in Gomel', Minsk, and Mogilev Oblasts.

The republic's ministries and departments, and the administrators of the contractual organizations and customer enterprises, have failed to create at many construction sites the necessary conditions for highly productive labor, and have failed to eliminate the shortcomings in the material-technical supplying of the construction sites, especially in providing them with cement and rolled metal. There have been instances of the tardy delivery to the projects slated for activation in the next reporting period of various technological equipment, valve fittings, cable output, and instruments. Motor transport for delivering mortar and concrete to the construction sites is not always allocated promptly or in the necessary quantity.

Individual local party and Soviet agencies are reconciling themselves to the shortcomings that have been occurring in the construction collectives. They do not always show high party demandingness toward their administrators.

The BCP Central Committee and the BSSR Council of Ministers, accepting for unswerving guidance and execution the instruction given by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov concerning the unconditional fulfillment of the plan for capital construction and the activation of capacities and projects in 1983, have required the administrators of the BSSR ministries and departments, the BCP oblast, city, and rayon committees, the oblast, city, and rayon executive committees, the primary party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations, and the administrators of the construction subdivisions and customer enterprises to concentrate at the construction sites that are scheduled for activation in the next reporting period the material and labor resources, to organize the work in two or three shifts if necessary, and also to operate in accordance with a sliding schedule. It has been decided to carry out purposeful and consistent steps to reinforce labor discipline and to increase the organizational spirit and order at each construction site.

It is necessary to take under special supervision the rate of construction of enterprises in the chemical industry, the mineral fertilizers industry, agricultural machine-building, the agroindustrial complex, special branches, light industry, and also the construction of apartment houses, hospitals, clinics, and other projects intended for cultural and everyday purposes. It is necessary to take urgent steps to intensify the rates of construction of the most important industrial projects, especially those at which a lagging behind has occurred.

BSSR Gosplan, BSSR Gossnab, BSSR Gostroy, and the republic's construction ministries and departments are required, jointly with the customers within a one-week period to consider the questions of accelerating the activation of the capacities and projects, devoting special attention at such time to the construction sites that are of first-priority importance to the country.



The BSSR ministries and departments, the oblast executive committees, and the Minsk City Executive Committee, the enterprises and the customer organizations must complete prior to 1 October of the current year the complete fitting out of the projects to be activated in the next reporting period, which are to be activated in the fourth quarter, providing them with equipment, valve fittings, cable products, and other articles and materials; within a one-month period they must outfit completely the startup capacities with operational cadres, and must guarantee their joint work with the installation and startup and adjustment organizations; they must guarantee the unconditional fulfillment of the assignments stipulated for the current year for the construction on the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhoses of silage and hay-fodder structures, hay storage facilities, and storage facilities for grass meal and fodder shops.

Belglavenergo, BSSR Ministry of Agriculture, and BSSR Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry must guarantee the installation of transformer substations and external electrical-transmission lines for all the agricultural projects to be activated in the next reporting period, in conformity with the schedules for activating them. Specific tasks has also been given to BSSR State Committee for Gasification.

Beltransstroy Trust must fulfill in 1983 the operations of completing the upper structure on the railroad sidings to mineral-fertilizer warehouses in the cities of Ivanovo, Smorgon', Lepel', Mozyr', Baranovichi, Kopyl', and Mstislavl', and BSSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Operations must fulfill the installation at the indicated projects within the time limits that guarantee their activation within the current year.

The BCP oblast, city, and rayon committees, and the oblast, city, and rayon executive committees must increase their demandingness toward the administrators of the construction organizations and the customer enterprises for the prompt activation of the capacities and projects. They must prevent the diversion of manpower, motor transportation, and machinery from the construction organizations and the enterprises in the construction and building-materials industry for the execution of other operations.

The ministries, chairmen of state committees, and administrators of the republic's departments, enterprises, and organizations have been given the personal responsibility for the completeness and promptness of completely fitting out the projects slated for activation with machines and machinery, material resources, and equipment, and also for the effective use of manpower.

BSSR State Committee for Labor must show concern for the proper providing of the construction organizations with workers. BSSR Ministry of the Building-Materials Industry, by means of the more complete use of the internal reserves and the existing capacities, is required to guarantee the production of an additional quantity of materials and articles for the needs of the projects slated for activation.

BSSR Gosplan and BSSR Gossnab have been required, within a two-week period, to consider the questions of allocating to the BSSR Ministry of Industrial Construction, BSSR Ministry of Rural Construction, and

Belmezhkolkhozstroy the required material resources for the fulfillment of additional assignments for the construction of farmstead-type housing in rural localities, storage facilities for hay and hay fodder, silage, and other agricultural projects. It is also necessary every month to take into consideration the actual balances of rolled metal, steel and cast iron pipes, cement, bricks, asphalt, cable products, equipment, and other material resources and to carry out a time-responsive interdepartmental redistribution of them, keeping in mind the high-priority supporting of the projects scheduled for activation. For purposes of the more complete providing of the construction sites with materials and equipment, additional assignments for producing them have been established for a number of production collectives in the republic.

The Administration of the Belorussian Railroad and the BSSR Ministry of Motor Transportation, jointly with the BSSR construction ministries and departments, must improve the shipments of construction materials and structures in conformity with the needs of the contractual organizations and the contracts that have been concluded.

The editorial offices of the republic and oblast newspapers, and the BSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the decree states, must regularly throw light on the achievements of the labor collectives and the advanced workers in production in the fulfillment of the plans for the activation of capacities and projects.

Belsovprof, the Central Committee of the BSSR Komsomol, the BSSR ministries and departments, the republic committees of the branch trade unions, and the primary party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations must increase the effectiveness of the socialist competition in the labor collectives, striving for the highest productivity at every work station and the unconditional fulfillment of the 1983 assignments.

5075

CSO: 1800/91

## REGIONAL

### TAJIK FIRST SECRETARY ADDRESSES PLENUM

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 18 Sep 83 pp 1-2

[Report by R. N. Nabiyev, first secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, at the 11th Plenum of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee on 17 September 1983]

[Excerpts] Comrades!

It is well known that on 15 August this year Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Comrades Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Grigoriy Vasil'yevich Romanov, Mikhail Vasil'yevich Zimyanin, Ivan Vasil'yevich Kapitonov and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov had a talk with party veterans.

This meeting was an important sociopolitical event and has evoked warm responses in the hearts of people of all generations. It was welcomed as a continuation of the glorious Leninist tradition of close links with the masses, continuity of communist generations and a relay race of great deeds and achievements. It is important to stress that the meeting of party veterans with the CPSU leadership proceeded in a cordial comradely atmosphere.

Extensive work is underway here. As a result of consistent implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress and the November (1982) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the republic has achieved a certain growth of economy, the social program is being implemented in a well-planned manner and the well-being and culture of people are being raised.

The tasks of the first half of the current five-year plan for the output of gross industrial production and its sale were overfulfilled. In 2 years and 8 months, R224.5 million worth of industrial production was sold above the plan. Production of consumer is being increased and measures aimed at expanding their variety and improving their quality are being implemented.

Positive developments have been achieved in the work of transportation, trade, personal services and capital construction. Rural workers are working hard.

Two-year plans for the sale to the state of grain, raw cotton, vegetables, potatoes, grapes, melon crops, silk cocoons and animal husbandry products have been fulfilled. The current year is a record one as regards the sale to the

state of silk cocoons and procurement of coarse fodder. It is expected that it will also be a record one as regards the procurement of potatoes, fruits and melon crops, the sale to the state of livestock, poultry, milk and eggs and the production of grain. Of course, everyone will have to work very hard for this purpose.

However, in appraising that which was achieved in the light of new requirements, one cannot fail to see the serious shortcomings that lower our final results.

Let us take industry as an example. Along with successes, there are many questions here which seriously worry us. First of all, it is the continuing failure to fulfill tasks on labor productivity, which is the main factor in raising production efficiency. According to the results for 8 months, labor productivity in industry lags 1.4 percent behind the task. As in the past, the growth of wages surpasses labor productivity. During the January-August period, quite a number of enterprises have failed to ensure fulfillment of contractual deliveries. Out of 90 most important kinds of industrial production the 8-month plan was not fulfilled for 36. The reasons are low level in organization of production, formalism in organization of socialist competition and poor insistence on high standards of leading cadres.

Very much is lost as a result of poor work in introducing into production of scientific-technical progress achievements and experience of leading production workers. It is high time for the party, soviet and economic organs and scientific institutions to stop underestimating this most important state work.

I have said it many times before and will repeat it again today that it will be difficult for us to solve many problematic and long-range questions without active assistance of science.

It is necessary to declare a resolute struggle against facts of wasteful use of material, financial and other resources and to introduce a policy of thrift not merely in words but with deeds. One has not felt this so far. The semi-annual tasks on economizing metal, lumber and cement were fulfilled on an average by 31-35 percent.

Party organizations and economic supervisors should now develop measures to overcome these and other shortcomings. It is important to organize work in such a manner so as to eliminate lagging where it was permitted and to ensure unconditional fulfillment of plans and socialist pledges.

The condition of capital construction is cause of serious concern. Immediate overcoming of existing lagging and ensuring unconditional fulfillment of state plans and assumed socialist pledges in this sector are becoming one of the principal tasks of the republic party organization.

Special significance has now been acquired by the struggle for fulfilling the Food Program.

It is well known that in accordance with instructions of the directive organs we established the union republic Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry in January 1955.

in January 1981. However, so far there is no evidence of real progress in improvement of supply of vegetables and fruits to the population.

Supply of vegetables to the population has not improved in such an important economic region of the republic as the Gissarskaya Valley with the city of Dushanbe and some large enterprises of the Yuzhno-Tajikskiy Territorial Production Complex.

One must say that many difficulties have appeared in the development of vegetable growing in the system of the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry. A sufficiently wide network of vegetable and dairy sovkhoses around Dushanbe, Leninabad and other cities has not been organized so far. A one crop system has developed in many vegetable growing sovkhoses, technology and agricultural practices are low and there is no correctly organized vegetable seed growing. These organizational defects have been hampering the development of the sector already for a long time.

One also cannot see in this work a proper effect from the Scientific Research Institute of Horticulture, Viticulture and Vegetable Growing, which was transferred to the ministry, and its affiliate in Leninabad Oblast. It should be noted that supervisors of raykoms and rayispolkoms in suburban rayons have also failed to take a correct position in these affairs.

We cannot reconcile ourselves any longer with such methods of work and such an attitude toward solving the food questions.

Of course, in solving questions of the Food Program we must also remember about fulfilling our international duty--about increasing production and improving the quality of cotton. This is expected by textile workers, enterprises of the food industry and trade and, finally, the consumers--the Soviet people.

One should also dwell on the work in the sphere of personal services in the republic. There is no proper order here as well. I will not cite official indicators in this respect. The most correct appraisal is given by people who use these services.

The Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee receives many letters and complaints about shortcomings in the work of trade, municipal services, transportation, housing services, personal services and public health. What is characteristic of these, based on Leninist definition, human documents?

These are complaints about bureaucratism, lack of attention and absence of order in places where these questions should be solved. Some supervisors have become used to giving groundless promises without pondering about fulfilling them.

Such letters are also written quite often by old party members and war and labor veterans. Disrespectful attitude is even manifested toward them sometimes despite their age and services.

Many signals are received from workers in the capital of the republic. This worries the Party Central Committee. In the immediate future, these questions will be solved here on a large scale in connection with the realization of the proposals being worked out by the USSR Council of Ministers jointly with the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee on further development of the Dushanbe City economy in the 1984-90 period, which were approved by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. Undoubtedly, this is a cause of great joy for all of us, but realization of these tasks will require enormous efforts.

We believe that the gorkom and the city soviet will undertake this work energetically and with the aid from the party organization and the city aktiv will be able to put matters in proper order in the city's economy and in the city in general. This, of course, is a difficult task, but we can and must solve it through joint efforts.

9817

CSO: 1830/40

## REGIONAL

### ESTONIAN OFFICIAL CALLS FOR IMPROVED PARTY WORK IN ALL SECTORS OF ECONOMY

Tallinn KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian No 6, Jun 83 pp 25-31

/Article by L. Shishov, candidate member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Estonian SSR Communist Party and department head of the organizational-party work of the Central Committee of the Estonian SSR Communist Party: "To Raise the Quality of Organizational-Party Work"

/Text In the struggle to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the tasks that were laid out in General Secretary Andropov's report "60 Years of the USSR", in the article "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Some Questions on Building Socialism in the USSR" and the speech at the conference on questions having to do with developing agriculture and realizing the Food Program, our party is achieving a steady growth in organizational and political activity in all areas of economic and culture building. In this regard, emphasis is being placed upon improving the style of work, strengthening control over the implementation of decisions that have been made, and reinforcing party, state and labor discipline. The party is attaching great importance to raising labor and social-political activity of the masses and creating conditions for developing their creative initiative and spontaneous actions. This is fully supported and approved by communists and all workers; and it is reflected positively in carrying out the social and economic tasks.

The party organization of the Estonian SSR has also given a great deal of attention to further improving the style of work of all party committees and party organizations. The need for this was persistently emphasized in subsequent plenums of the Central Committee of the ESSR. To overcome all that is outmoded and sluggish and the force of inertia, which squelch initiative, progressive initiatives and social activity - this is what is needed at this time to raise the efficiency of each party organization. The task is to universally affirm the business-like, creative style of work and to raise in every respect the degree of organization and discipline and the high responsibility of the key personnel.



As noted at the All-union scientific-practical conference "on increasing the role of the primary party organizations in the development of social and production activity of workers, strengthening discipline and improving the style of work", which was held in Tbilisi, all of this concerns state, economic and social organizations. But primarily it concerns the party organizations, because they will be able to head up the struggle of the masses to bring order to the national economy and for efficiency and quality of labor only when they have straightened out their own affairs and raised the quality of their work.

In the report and speeches of the conference participants emphasis was repeatedly given to the need to sharply turn all party committees to questions having to do with the work of the primary party organizations and the labor collectives. For this is where the social-economic plans of the party are being implemented and where in actions the linkage between personal interests and the desires of the workers and the tasks of building communism is to be found.

The primary party organizations, being a political core of labor collectives, are called upon to actively influence the realization of their broad constitutional rights. The primary party organizations are responsible to the party for all aspects of activity and the development of labor collectives and for the creation within them of a healthy, moral-political climate and for their contribution to the common cause of building communism.

At the stage of developed socialism the primary organizations are playing an increasingly important role in implementing the policies of the party, in managing the national economy, in the ideological-political training of workers and in bringing closely together the party and the masses. In this can be seen the objective regularity in the growth of authority and influence of our party in society. Raising the role of the primary organizations has been brought about by modern tendencies of our economic development - the imminent need for intensification of the economy and for speeding up the pace of scientific-technical progress and for advancing to the foreground the qualitative work indicators. The lower organizations are responsible to ensure that the party directives find concrete embodiment in the day-to-day practice of the labor collectives. It is impossible to successfully solve the tasks of social development without relying upon the lower links.

The labor and political activity of the members of society today is closely connected with raising their well-being, common and professional culture, improving the conditions of labor, living and relaxation. The further improvement of socialist democracy and, in particular, reinforcing the democratic principles directly at the production level is one of the major responsibilities of the

primary party organizations. This must be promoted by the recently concluded discussion of the draft Law of the USSR "concerning labor collectives and increasing their role in managing enterprises, institutions, and organizations". The realization of the growing educational opportunities of socialist society, the formation of high citizen qualities of personality, the collective, patriotic and international awareness and conduct of people depend directly upon the primary party organizations.

In the ESSR Communist Party there are almost 2,750 primary party organizations and more than 7,600 shop party organizations and party groups, joining together nearly 104,000 members and candidate members of the Communist Party. Some 74.1 percent of the communists are concentrated directly in material production. In the primary party organizations of the enterprises of industry there are on the average 64 communists; in the construction industry this figure is 43, in transport it is 38. On the state farms the figure is 56 and for the collective farms there is an average of 69 communists.

The steady improvement of the structure of party organizations leads to an improvement in the posting of communists in key sectors of production and to raising the quality of party-political work directly in the shops, sections, brigades, at livestock farms, and so forth.

In the past two years alone primary party organizations have been created within 114 labor collectives. The number of shop party organizations has increased; and more than 300 party groups have been newly created - primarily at retail enterprises and transport and service enterprises. A specific amount of work has been done in straightening out the structure of the party organizations of the ministries and departments of the ESSR.

The reinforcement of the primary party organizations and the creation of new ones have been helped by the growth in party membership. In pursuing the Leninist instruction that "only he who does his work among the masses truly in the spirit of the party's decisions is worthy of the high rank of party member" (Complete Works of Lenin, Volume 22, page 255), the party organizations are strictly following a policy of selecting into their ranks only the leading and best workers and are invariably raising their requirements for joining the party.

In recent years within the ESSR party organization out of the total number of those joining the Communist Party workers comprise approximately 59 percent, collective farm workers - nearly 10 percent and representatives of the intelligentsia account for 26 to 27 percent. More than 70 percent of those joining the party come from the Komsomol. In general this corresponds to the tendencies that are characteristic for the growth and strengthening of the party ranks for the Communist Party of the USSR overall.

However, we must confess that not all party organizations and party committees are carefully analyzing their work in augmenting the ranks of the party. There are instances of unbalance in the party structure among individual categories of workers and the intelligentsia and as a result there is a weakening of party influence in several labor collectives. Some party organizations are still not doing an adequate job of thoroughly studying the practical and political qualities of those joining and are not following through in checking on their work during their candidacy. This is leading to mistakes, which can be corrected only by extreme measures - expelling those who are not worthy from the party.

Having examined recently several questions having to do with the growth and further strengthening of the party ranks, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee suggested to the party committees and primary party organizations that on the basis of Leninist norms and principles they undertake a purposeful work to bring into the party new members, to develop initiative and activity of communists, to increase their vanguard role, responsibility and discipline. These instructions must be carried out rigorously.

The pivotal point of the work of the party organizations has been and remains to carry out the unified party line in the management of the economy in the specific conditions of the labor collectives. In this regard the work in reinforcing the party influence in the lower links of production - the brigades - is especially important. In the ESSR we have already accumulated a great deal of experience in transferring the labor collectives to this progressive form of organizing and paying labor. Along with the quantitative growth in the number of brigades there have also been changes in the posting of communists. At present within the brigades there are now nearly 1,500 party groups in operation; this includes in industry some 595, in construction 132 and in agriculture 452. The practice of creating party-Komsomol groups within the brigades has expanded; now there are almost 500 of them. An important link, joining the party committees and bureaus with the lower party cells of the labor collectives, is the institute of party organizers. This party instruction is being carried out by almost 3,300 communists in the ESSR.

Thus, while expanding the network of party and party-Komsomol groups and naming the party organizers, we have achieved a situation in which one in four brigades in industry, one in three in construction and one in four in agriculture is directly under the influence of the party. We must point out that this has led to specific results: in the brigades there has been an improvement in the organization of labor, in strengthening discipline, and the responsibility and motivation of each collective member toward final results of the joint work, search and use of internal reserves.

At the same time the opportunities for strengthening the party's influence in the lower production links are far from being fully put to use, especially in agriculture and in particular in the livestock breeding area. While party and party-Komsomol groups exist at almost (97 percent) all large farms and complexes, at the small farms party organizers are at work on only 36 percent of them.

It is necessary to give more careful consideration to the creation of party-Komsomol groups. They are scarcely appropriate in collectives where there is every opportunity to create independent party and Komsomol groups. For example, in the brigade of high pressure equipment assemblers at the Tallinn machine building plant imeni I. Lauristin there are seven communists working and three Komsomol members; however, at the start of this year the two groups were combined into a single group. The activity of the party organizers and managers of the party-Komsomol groups is deserving of increased attention on the part of the party committees and it is necessary to emulate their work experience on a broader basis, to give them more practical assistance and to organize a systematic training program.

The practice of party work attests to growing role of the party committees which oversee the large primary party organizations. As of 1 January of this year there were 215 of them, while the number of shop organizations having the rights of primary organizations came to almost 1,600. The party bureaus were chosen in 60 percent of the primary party organizations.

At all large railroad junctions in the ESSR, Tallinn, Tartu, Tapa, and Valga, there are junction party committees in operation. Each railroad junction consists of several independent subelements having their own party organizations. The junction party committees have in this manner been called upon to coordinate their work in order to do everything possible to promote coordination in the activities of all production links and to direct them toward fulfilling their shared task - to more fully and on a more timely basis meet the requirements of the national economy and the population for railroad shipments and to steadily increase the pace of this work, as required by the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

At a conference in Tbilisi great importance was attached to matters having to do with improving the forms and methods of party work in connection with the creation of agroindustrial associations. The attention of the rural party organizations, rayon committees must be directed at ensuring that the new rural organizations gain strength more rapidly. It is very important to help them select the correct direction of their work and to take on the solution of the basic questions of the development of agriculture in a business like manner.

In the ESSR a certain amount of experience has been accumulated in this field. At the Kharyuskiy and Rakvereskiy associations, for example, soviets of the secretaries of the party organizations of the farms and enterprises, comprising the RAPO /rayon agroindustrial association/, have been created and are now operating. In Ygevaskiy, Raplaskiy and Vilyandiskiy Rayons the soviets of the secretaries of the party organizations have been created by production zones (regions), and in Pyarnuskiy Rayon the secretaries of the party organizations are members of the regional soviets.

To provide some sort of unified recommendations for everyone regarding the organization of this work is difficult at the moment. Time is needed to acquire and generalize the experience, to check on the feasibility of the new forms of work, and to approach the matter in a creative manner. But we can say with confidence that all of these soviets of the secretaries of the party organizations are making it possible for them to look deeper into problems not only at their own kolkhoz, sovkhoz or enterprise, but of the association on the whole. The task of the rural party committees is to carefully study the new experience of party work and to take into consideration each facet of this experience that proves itself.

In conditions of the agroindustrial associations the primary party organizations and rayon party committees are using experience that has been accumulated by the party organizations of the production associations in industry, where by this time questions having to do with the organizational structure of party organizations and the forms of their work have basically been solved. In particular the soviets of the secretaries of party organizations have proven their worth as coordinating organs. They are playing a substantial role in improving the political work among the masses, at undertaking a socialist competition, and in adopting progressive forms of organizing and motivating labor, and so forth.

In the large party organizations, as a rule, an energetic and strong party aktiv is evolving, business is handled more competently, and the authority of communists is high. But such organizations account for nearly 60 percent of the total number of primary party organizations, the remaining 40 percent are relatively small organizations. There are quite a few of them in the ESSR's industry (147), in transport (129), and at certain construction projects (48). The main body is to be found in the institutions of learning (353) and scientific institutions, cultural facilities, health care, retail enterprises, public dining and services facilities and also at the institutions and organizations of the rural rayon centers.

The Central Committee of the ESSR Communist Party is directing the attention of the city and rayon party committees toward strengthening their work with the party organizations that are small in numbers. This is all the more necessary because the majority of such organizations is operating in the collectives which provide services. These party organizations bear special responsibility for implementing the decisions of the November (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum on seriously improving the services that are offered to the population. The party organizations must constantly study these matters, while achieving the creation in the collectives of a creative atmosphere and a positive attitude toward people, while increasing their demands upon the workers for the work that they have been assigned. Of course, all of this presupposes well thought-out work both in improving skills and in ideological-educational training of the collective members.

Significantly more attention must be given to the territorial party organizations that have been created at house management offices and in the housing administrations. Here there are communists, who have in their time worked long and fruitfully and who are now enjoying a well-deserved rest. They have a great deal of living experience and are doing what they can to help with the education of young people where they live, in beautifying the landscape, taking care of the housing unit, organizing the work of the house committees, in gathering food wastes, etc. But it is important that the guiding hand of the party committee be always felt here.

One of the main tasks of the party organizations is to develop the activity of the workers in the production facility in public life as well. At every stage this work is made more specific in accordance with urgent tasks. Today it must be directed at making fuller use of internal reserves of the socialist economy in order to raise the efficiency of production and to further intensify its development. The primary party organizations are aware of these reserves, so to speak, from within. To put them to work and to ensure that economic activity is conducted in full accordance with the party's economic policy - such is the job of the party organizations.

We note that the state plans for this year in the ESSR's national economy are being fulfilled successfully overall. This is the concrete result of the organizational and ideological and educational work of the primary party organizations and the party committees, and their skill in mobilizing workers to search for and make use of reserves on behalf of the fulfillment of production assignments and raising the quality of product. In this regard we will name the party organizations of the production associations Slantsekhim and Estonslanets, the combine Krengolmskaya manufaktura, the Tallinn machine building plant imeni I Lauristin and the house building combine imeni 60 years of October, and the Tartu instrument building plant.



It is very important that at each enterprise, at each construction and transportation organization, and at each farm a clear program of activities be developed for their continued economic and social development. It is this approach to business that distinguishes the work of the party organizations of the Tallinn Production Association for Radioelectronic Equipment, the fishing kolkhos imeni S.M. Kirov, the kolkhoses Vyayke-Maarya and Ninth of May and many others.

But we still have some party organizations which are not doing all that they can in the economic sphere and are doing a poor job of monitoring the activity of the administration, and as before are putting emphasis on the quantitative indicators, while overlooking questions having to do with production efficiency and improving product quality. This is resulting in serious problems in work and failure to fulfill plans. This refers, for example, to the party organizations of the Estonbumprom, Prompribor and Vazar associations in Tallinn, the Tartu house building combine, and the sovkhos Erra in Kokhtla-Yarveskiy ayon. Due to such shortcomings several enterprises are not meeting their obligations for supplying product. And, it would seem, the economic managers and party organizations should long ago have understood that the work of all labor collectives of the USSR are closely connected and that the disruption of deliveries in one link can disrupt the production rhythm of an enterprise that is depending upon the other. Consequently, strengthening organizational and mass political work among the party organizations for strengthening production and labor discipline must be directly linked with the realization of the planned assignments and the contractual obligations.

The recent discussion of the draft Law regarding labor collectives must promote this. The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations are called upon to do everything possible to increase the role of the labor collectives, the responsibility of each worker for fulfilling production plans and their direct responsibilities.

More attention must be given to the work of communists within the trade unions, the Komsomol and other social organizations and to ensuring that they play a leading role in improving the style and methods of work of these organizations.

A powerful lever for raising labor and political activity of the masses is the socialist competition. Quite a few examples can be provided where the party organizations have creatively and skillfully oriented the socialist competition toward raising labor productivity, the rational use and conserving of all kinds of resources, and improving other indicators. But, unfortunately, there are frequent instances of a formal approach to this business, as a result of which the competition exists only on paper. Such instances were uncovered in connection with a discussion within the Central Committee of the ESSR Communist Party of questions having to do with the work of the Pyarnuskiy Rayon Party Committee in



supervising the trade union organizations and the ESSR Council of Trade Unions for strengthening production discipline. The task of the party organizations is to concentrate the efforts of the economic key personnel, the trade union, Komsomol and other social organizations toward putting to use within the labor collectives the effective forms of socialist competition on behalf of attaining high final results in production.

The realization of social-economic tasks facing the collectives requires that the party organizations reinforce their control of the work of administration within each production section. This presupposes a thorough analysis of the problems connected with economic, organizational and educational work, the knowledge to keep in mind all aspects of the life of the labor collectives, to take steps to eliminate shortcomings in time and to support everything that is progressive that serves to bring order and discipline and to affirm specificity and business-mindedness in work.

An important role in this matter belongs to the commissions of the primary party organizations which monitor the work of the administration, of which we now have about 3,000. In each specific instance the primary party organizations are determining what sort of commissions to create and the kinds of questions that the commissions are to check on. This latter point is particularly needed in order to prevent substitutions by the commissions of trade union and Komsomol organizations, groups and peoples' control posts.

The commissions of the primary party organizations are called upon to keep in mind those questions for which the administration is responsible. This includes primarily the problems of organizing work, preventing work stoppages and personnel turnover, the timely engineering and dispatch preparation of production, observing technological discipline, and, of course, decisively strengthening the struggle against all violations of party, state and labor discipline, as required by the November (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

It should be noted that following the Central Committee Plenum the ESSR party organizations undertook a great deal of organizational and explanatory work within the collectives. Party and workers' meetings were held throughout the republic; at these meetings specific proposals and comments were made aimed at improving the organization of labor and strengthening discipline. In particular it was emphasized that there is a need to more fully take legislative and social measures for taking action against those who violate discipline and public order. The party organizations were called upon to put an end to the non-participatory attitude of some workers in the struggle to strengthen discipline and to provide a principled evaluation of such instances. Their duty is to wage an uncompromising struggle not only against violators but against those who tolerate them, who distort accounts,

and who conceal the true state of affairs. The struggle to strengthen discipline is not a campaign, but a long-term program of actions for everyone.

The primary concern of the primary organizations is, of course, to strengthen party discipline. The majority of communists conscientiously observe the established norms, selflessly serve social interests, and serve as examples of modesty and discipline. At the same time there are those party members who forget their duty and commit flagrant violations of the norms of party life and who abuse their positions. Last year alone some 110 communist managers were taken to task for party responsibility, 64 of these were scored for their negligent attitude toward their duties and for violating socialist legality. Seven men were expelled from the party and five of them committed crimes punishable by criminal procedures.

The primary party organizations were called upon to strictly see to it that violations of party discipline and party etiquette received the proper evaluation. Consistent adherence to principle and an uncompromising exactingness in everything that concerns the honor and authority of our party - these are the indispensable condition for further strengthening the vanguard role of communists in all sectors of the building of communism.

The work with personnel is a crucial concern in improving party management and affirming the Leninist style in all activity of the party, soviet, economic and social organizations. At present the question of raising the responsibility of management personnel for implementing the party line for reinforcing the control of the economy, thrift, the struggle against various forms of poor economic management, slovenliness, the creation of a reliable barrier to theft and losses, is of particular importance. The party committees are obliged to see to it that all work sections are headed by competent and politically mature people, who are capable of resisting the slightest infractions of the law, of the norms of our life, and to strictly deal with those who tolerate encroachments of social property, or who flagrantly tolerate them.

The creation of a reliable reserve of key personnel for advancement is of particular importance, in particular for party work. These personnel must come from industry and agriculture. And in this area we have quite a few problems. In some rural rayon party committees there are few workers who have a higher agricultural education. Among those engaged in agricultural production there are nearly 18,000 communists, 17 percent of which are agronomists, livestock specialists and other specialists of agriculture.

In some rayon party committees - Kingisepp, Rakveresk - and the Kokhtla-Yarveskiy City Party Committee more than half of the workers who were advanced over the past two years were not even counted within the reserve. The fact that over the past two years some 180 supervisory workers were relieved of their duties attests to the serious shortcomings in personnel work in the Valgaskiy Rayon; and what is more less than ten percent of the workers were advanced from the reserve. Some farms in the rayon have for some time not had skilled management. This situation requires immediate correction.

The Leninist principles of selecting key personnel for the business and moral-political qualities are an indisputable law. Since in the USSR, and this includes the ESSR, the processes of internationalization of all social life are taking place, the party committees are called upon to consider this circumstance in their personnel policies. It is necessary for the nationalities comprising the population of the republic to be represented in various links of the party and soviet organs, the economic and social organizations.

Questions having to do with improving the style, with raising the efficiency of organizational and political work of the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs and the economic managers are presently of great importance. The CPSU Central Committee is requiring them to be precise and coordinated in their work and that they decisively eradicate bureaucratism and paper shuffling. The Central Committee also requires that they have the knowledge to concentrate their attention on the main, more important questions, upon the solution of which depends the success of the common cause.

In the ESSR party organization all of this is receiving serious attention. In the work of the corporate organs of management the specificity and business-mindedness are being affirmed more and more and there are fewer instances of intentionally substituting the actual solution of questions for empty and meaningless conversations and vanity. Of course, the careful preparation of the plenums of the party committees and sessions of the bureaus largely promotes this characteristic of work. The same can be said about the meetings of the primary party organizations.

It is necessary to save the time of the election aktiv, the party and economic workers without taking them away from their work for different sessions and conferences. (We remind you that party meetings, just as other social measures, must be held during non-working hours.) In this regard the practice of work of the Tallinn City Party Committee and the rayon party committees of the city and several other party committees, which have also sharply reduced the number of meetings and conferences, is deserving of attention; they have set up a procedure, according to which the management personnel and specialists are summoned to the party and soviet organs only when absolutely necessary.

The Central Committee of the ESSR Communist Party and many of the republic's party committees have strengthened their control and monitoring of the execution of the decisions that have been made; they are keeping watch to see that new decrees are passed only for the truly major questions and only after the preceding decision has been carried out. Such an arrangement is possible only when there is clear information on the progress of fulfilling the party decisions and about the work of the party committees and bureaus in the period between the reports and elections. We note, however, that within the Pyarnuskiy City Party Committee, the Paydeskiy, Pylvaskiy and Khaapsaluskiy rayon party committees steps have not been taken to ensure that such information is readily available.

The passing of measures for reducing the flow of paper reaching the local organizations from the higher authorities and vice versa and the struggle against those who follow a paper style of management is making it possible for office workers to become more actively involved in the organizational work within the labor collectives on a more direct basis and to render effective assistance to the primary and shop party organizations and to the party groups. The Oktyabrskiy Rayon Party Committee in Tallinn and the Vilyankiskiy and several other rayon party committees are good examples of this.

It is necessary to significantly improve the generalization and dissemination of advanced experience of party work. The offices of party work and information are called upon to play a substantial role in this task, as are the methodological councils that are attached to them. It is these organizations that must become the basic centers for this work and for rendering methodological and practical assistance to the election aktiv and to the workers of the office of the party committee.

This year there is to be a review of the offices of party work and information. When adding up the results of the review the formulation and equipping of the offices, the work results of the methodological councils functioning under them, the quality of organizing of training, the generalization and dissemination of experience of party work, and so forth, will be taken into consideration.

As has already been stated, the successful solution of today's pressing tasks are largely determined by the quality of management by the primary party organizations on the part of the city party committees and rayon party committees. These are the organizations at the very lowest levels which are responsible to ensure that the directives of the party on the key questions having to do with the development of our society find concrete embodiment in the day-to-day practice of the labor collectives.

Positive experience of managing the primary party organizations has been accumulated in Tallinn, Kokhtla-Yarva, Rakvereskiy, and Tartu Rayons. This work has nothing in common with giving orders. In this work democracy is organically combined with centralism, the initiative and creativity of the party masses with the clear organization of execution and strict control. To know how an organization lives is to clearly see the situation within a labor collective and to assist the communists, the secretary of the party organization to better organize their work - this is the indispensable condition of successful management. We must always bear in mind the Leninist instruction about the need to set as the most important task the practicality and business-mindedness of organizational work (See complete works, Vol 36, p 159). Meanwhile, some party committees are not always adhering to these requirements, which is one of the reasons for the poor work of many primary party organizations.

An important form of managing the lower party organizations is listening to their reports at the meetings of the bureaus and at the plenums of the party committee. The serious preparation and discussion of the report in the higher-ranking organ helps the party organizations to translate the political directives into the plane of practical affairs and to improve the quality of their work overall.

At this time when our party and the entire Soviet Union is preparing to celebrate the 80th Anniversary of the Second Session of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, the CPSU Central Committee is again pointing to the need to affirm the Leninist style of work - a creative style, which is based upon a scientific approach to all social processes and which presupposes the constant reliance upon the masses, a high degree of business-mindedness, specificity and exactingness, intolerance toward all manifestations of formalism, bureaucratism and ostentation. The party constantly calls upon us to have unity in word and deed and that the word always become a deed. This is what must be the essence of work of the party organizations and of all stages of party management.

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## REGIONAL

### TURKMEN CP BUREAU CRITICIZES TURKMEN LANGUAGE DAILY

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 30 Sep 83 p 1

[Article: "In the Bureau of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A regular meeting of the Bureau of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee has considered some questions of party and sociocultural construction in the republic.

It heard a report on the work of the Tashauz gorkom in fulfilling the party and government resolution on increasing production of consumer goods and improving their quality.

The Bureau of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee noted that the Tashauz gorkom, the gorispolkom, primary party organizations and the collectives of city industrial enterprises, in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th party congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, are conducting certain work in fulfilling resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on questions of further development of production and improvement of consumer goods quality.

Since the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the city's industry as a whole has fulfilled the established tasks on the overall volume of production and sale of consumer goods and has somewhat improved the quality of the produced goods. The gorkom has been devoting particular attention to questions of developing and increasing capacities for production of consumer goods. The work of primary party organizations of some enterprises, which are producing consumer goods, has become more concrete and goal-oriented as regards expanding production and improving the quality of goods for which there is a daily and mass demand and ensuring fulfillment of additional tasks for producing such goods.

At the same time, as noted by the Bureau of the Central Committee, the level of work of the Tashauz gorkom in enlisting labor collectives of enterprises toward further expansion of production of goods for the people and improvement of their quality still does not fully meet the demands of higher directive organs. Some enterprises have failed to adopt necessary measures aimed at fulfilling plans for producing and delivering them in the established variety, and there is still much criticism of low quality of production. The existing internal reserves are not being used sufficiently.

The gorkom has not been devoting enough attention to raising the militancy of party organizations of enterprises and strengthening their vanguard role in labor collectives.

The Bureau of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the Tashauz gorkom and primary party organizations to develop and implement concrete measures for eliminating the aforementioned shortcomings and provided guidance as to what party, soviet and public organizations should concentrate their main attention on in this important sector of work.

The Bureau of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee has examined the question on the work of the newspaper SOVET TURKMENISTANY and has adopted a corresponding resolution. It has noted that the newspaper's editorial office, being guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the 22d Congress of the Turkmenistan Communist Party [KPT], subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and instructions of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has conducted certain work in raising the effectiveness of published work and improving its own activity. The newspaper's role has risen in the economic and cultural life of the republic and in the communist training of workers.

At the same time, as noted by the Bureau, the newspaper's activity does not fully meet the demands made by the 26th party congress and the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on ideological questions. The newspaper's editorial office still poorly uses its creative possibilities in enlisting workers of the republic toward fulfilling the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan, all possible raising of labor productivity and successful fulfilling of the Food Program.

The questions on developing agriculture of the republic are not being elucidated comprehensively and the style, forms and methods of work of party committees and public organizations are being analyzed without proper depth. The party organization of the newspaper's editorial office does not devote itself sufficiently enough to questions of selecting, placing and training of journalist personnel and to raising the ideological and artistic level of the newspaper.

The leadership of the TuSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade [Goskomizdat] and houses of the press have failed to adopt effective measures for prompt and quality issue of the newspaper and have been constantly frustrating the issue schedule of the newspaper and its delivery to readers, especial in remote areas.

The Bureau of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the newspaper's editorial office to adopt measures aimed at eliminating the aforementioned shortcomings.

The Bureau of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee has confirmed measures on questions raised by party veterans at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee and on the list of proposals expressed by veterans at a meeting in the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee in early September this year.



Some other questions of economic and cultural life of the republic were also considered.

Corresponding resolutions were adopted on the questions discussed.

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## REGIONAL

### LATVIAN PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMITTEES OUST DISHONEST MANAGERS

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 13 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by I. Kopylov, chief of the complaint bureau of the Latvian People's Control Committee: "Impatience With Shortcomings"]

[Text] Letters from workers--the most credible sources of information about expectations and needs of toilers in the town and village, on the state of affairs in various areas of our society--help to evaluate work objectively, to see inadequacies and the means of eliminating them more clearly. In this regard, the letters and oral statements of workers, control over the examination of suggestions, statements and complaints of citizens in ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations occupied a significant place in the activity of the people's control organs.

The decisions of the November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, the positions and conclusions contained in the reports of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu. V. Andropov, became an inspired program of activity for all workers. The aims of the CPSU Central Committee were welcomed in the workers' collectives of our republic. Graphic evidence of this are the letters which have come in to republic, municipal and rayon people's control committees.

During the first half of this year, 1,603 letters and 1,134 visitors were received by the republic people's control committees. The contents of the majority of letters were not personal, but social in nature. The inadequacies of communal living and transportation facilities trouble the workers; they level charges about the quality of production; they state the desire for tightening control over the observation of government discipline, to intensify the struggle with add-ons, misuse of service positions and other violations.

Thus, as verification of a statement received in the Leninskiy Rayon people's control committee, the following were established: add-ons and unfounded payment of premiums to workers of shop No 2 of the Riga cardboard factory, and facts concerning illegal payment of people holding more than one office. The rayon committee punished the director of the enterprise, A. Domashevich, and fined him. The committee informed the Ministry of Local Industry about the violations at the factory.

People's control organs obtain a significant number of reports concerning failure to take measures to ensure the preservation of socialist property. For example, the inhabitants of Dobeles state their dissatisfaction with the fact that in the rayon department store recently 20 cases of shortcomings were allowed, for a total of more than 25,000 rubles. Materials on these shortcomings were transferred to investigative organs in only three cases by the rayon consumers' society.

The November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee indicated the necessity for increasing the responsibility of the leadership in all ranks for an assigned section of work, so that word and deed will not be at variance. In their letters, workers direct such demands to responsible persons, judging harshly the unseemly acts of certain leaders. Thus, in the republic and Bauskiy Rayon People's control committee statements were given about the misuses of the leadership of the workers of Road Building District 10. As verification of these statements, it was established that with the personal participation of the head of the Road Building District, I. Kalnin'sha, several thousand rubles for paving a landing strip in the Saulayn sovkhos technical school were unnecessarily charged for people working overtime. On the territory of the enterprise, using the labor force, garages and auxiliary rooms for the director, the chief engineer and the brigade leader of the Road Building District were built.

For the misuse of a service position, the republic people's control committee suspended I. Kalnin'sha from his duties, and the Bauskiy Rayon party committee supported the party organization decision to expel him from the party. A strict party penalty was pronounced to the chief engineer. The garages and managers' structures were transferred to Road Building District 10.

An analysis of the letters received shows that a rather widespread phenomenon was the use of service passenger cars for private purposes. The Gulbenskiy Rayon committee established that the deputy director of a mobil snack bar enterprise, N. Vavilichev, systematically used service transport for personal needs. The directors of the sovkhoses "Kratse" and "Ruzhina" commanded the sovkhos vehicles as if they were their own in Rezeknenskiy Rayon. Finding themselves in courses for upgrading qualifications at the Latvian Agricultural Academy, for two weeks they kept the sovkhos automobiles parked near the dormitory. And the director of an Elgav printing house, O. Golovanov, considered it the order of things to drive daily in the service car from Riga to Elgav and back, keeping it near his Riga apartment.

Based on the examples cited above and many other facts of violations revealed during the verification of workers' letters, appropriate measures are being adopted by organs of the people's control committee. Only after six months of the current year at the meetings of people's control committees about the materials of the letter verifications and the oral statements of workers, 105 questions have been examined, 96 people brought to disciplinary action, with 37 workers being fined.

Letters and signals given to the people's control organs attest to the warm approval of workers of the course taken by the party in further tightening

government, planning and labor discipline, and of the active, vital position of the Soviet people. People's control committees and groups should pay attention to the statements and suggestions of laborers, office workers and kolkhoz members, and take appropriate action.

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CSO: 1800/26

## REGIONAL

### NEW BOOKS DESCRIBE RESEARCH ON KIRGHIZ HISTORY

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 21 Sep 83 p 3

[Review by S. Tabyshaliyev, corresponding member of the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences and chief editor for preparation and publication of "Svod pamyatnikov istorii i kul'tury Kirgizii" [Collection of Monuments of Kirghiz History and Culture]: "In the Footsteps of Ancient Cultures"]

[Text] The sources of the history and culture of Kirghizia are lost in the depths of the centuries. The people of ancient times have left us a heritage of monuments of material and spiritual culture.

In Kirghizia today, about 5,000 archeological monuments have been discovered. Some of them have been thoroughly studied and have become well known to the public. Reports on many others, the wide investigation of which began fairly recently, have in most cases not yet become the property of the public at large. Meanwhile, the success of further study of Kirghizia's historic past, particularly in the light of the newly passed Kirghiz law "On the Preservation and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments," largely depends on how far the public will go in supporting scientists in the timely discovery, investigation, and preservation of ancient monuments. It is sufficient to recall those monuments which were destroyed out of simple ignorance of their value for science and their role in reconstructing concrete pictures of historic times.

Unfortunately, the authors of popular scientific publications, addressing themselves to the masses, often fall into unnecessary oversimplification so that it is difficult to escape distortions. It is also not infrequent that the broad readership is presented with events that are interesting, but old ground, long since covered by the current stage of scientific life.

Worthy of attention in this regard is the publication of the book "Po sledam pamyatnikov istorii i kul'tury Kirgizstana" [Tracing the Monuments of Kirghiz History and Culture],\* prepared in a collaboration of scientists from Kirghizia, Moscow, and Leningrad. It is the result of long, painstaking work by historians.

\* Edited by Professor V. M. Masson and Doctor of Historical Sciences V. M. Ploskiy. Frunze, Ilim, 1982.

The authors of the collection have managed to overcome the effect of factors which inevitably limit readership. The new book is definitely aimed at the widest possible audience. But the popularization of scientific knowledge does not reduce to simplification of complex questions.

Recently, the research of archeologists has turned up much that is new in the study of three great eras in Kirghiz history.

Pre-revolutionary historiography did not have any sort of data relating to the era of primordial communal relations in the Kirghiz area. Thanks to exhaustive archeological expeditions of the 1940's and 1950's, led by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. N. Bernshtam and Academician A. P. Okladnikov, it was established that Kirghizia was a site of ancient human settlement. The search for monuments of the stone age continues; new caches of stone tools, sites, and caves are being discovered in Central Tyan-Shan, the Issyk-Kul Basin, and valleys of major rivers.

Archeologists have managed to trace the path of historical development of tribes of the bronze age too, the formation of their means of livelihood and their material culture. As early as 2000 B.C., the Kirghiz area was characterized by two groups of tribes, distinct from each other by their means of livelihood and cultural characteristics--the nomadic livestock breeders of the steppes and the farmers of the Fergana Valley.

Much has been done but further study is needed for the entire Kirghiz area in order to precisely fix the borders of ethnocultural regions of ancient human settlement, clarify the interaction between "primordial cultures" of the plains and hills, and investigate the appearance of different forms of farming and livestock breeding, and other questions touching on the ancient history of the region.

The Kirghiz territory is rich in monuments of the period of mighty nomadic alliances such as the Sak, Usuni, Yuyechzhi, and other tribes of 700-500 B.C., which played an important role not only in the history of Central Asia, but also India, East Turkestan, Afghanistan, and Iran. It was one of the settlement centers of the Sak and Usuni tribes. Written sources have given us information concerning the location of the Usuni capital on the bank of the Issyk-Kul, and various aspects of the life of the ancient nomadic population. Every year, as a result of excavation in burial grounds and treasure caches, bronze tools, weapons, jewelry, and funeral-sacrificial articles fill out our information about their culture.

At the same time, the collection acknowledges the existence of many "blank spots," relating to forms of socioeconomic and political ways of life of various nomads, their interrelations with neighboring peoples, and cultural ties. These questions cannot be resolved without bringing in evidence from written sources, and the methods of linguistics and paleoethnography. These and a number of other problems of studying the historiography of ancient Kirghizia can be solved only by specially trained qualified cadres of experts in oriental studies.

The history of Kirghizia from the 6th to the 12th century, the era when feudal relations were established, has become much better known to science thanks to written sources of various types and content. Almost all of them were written about Central Asia, far outside its borders. Another thing entirely are the local written monuments, left to us in the form of epitaphs, travelers' inscriptions, and legends on coins. The importance of these primary sources has long since been recognized by historians and oriental studies experts; therefore, more and more attention in Kirghiz historiography is being given to the evidence of epigraphy, numismatics, and archeography, supplying concrete material for studying the individual historical-cultural regions of Kirghizia.

Chapter Five sums up the research of recent years in the fields of historiography, source study, and supplementary historical disciplines. The authors of the individual paragraphs of this chapter (using primarily the materials of ancient written sources) examine a number of separate problems of the history of Kirghizia and related areas of Central Asia in the middle ages. This era is characterized by complex processes of the formation and development of original local culture, whose traditions, on the one hand, have their roots in immemorial antiquity, and on the other hand, feel a considerable influence from "neighboring" communities, with active penetration and promulgation of the Moslem culture into local conditions.

Manuscript and epigraphical sources are bringing science new, previously unknown information about the level of development of various languages and writing systems among the local population for a vast chronological range--from the early middle ages to modern times. Great interest is being aroused by the preliminary publication of a unique record of a grammatical treatise by the well-known 15th century poet Abdurrakhman Dzhami, found in the territory of Kirghizia and examined by V. N. Nastich, V. M. Ploskiy, and V. K. Shukhovtsov. And a short but detailed study of several records of geographic works by Nadzhib Khamadani (12th century), put together by Moscow orientalist S. G. Agadzhanov, without exaggeration enters an all-new, important territory in the study of ancient Kirghiz history.

The work is of great value because of its wide variety of new factual material of modern science and its well-founded theoretical conclusions and generalizations, and it provides a sufficiently complete reflection of the spectrum of scientific interests of its authors--historians, archeologists, and orientalists.

The publication of archeological sources, the discovery of new monuments of material and spiritual culture, and the widespread propagandizing of them will unquestionably help the work of preparing the multi-volume publication "Svod pamyatnikov istorii i kul'tury Kirgizii" [Collection of Monuments of Kirghiz History and Culture], an integral part of the All-Union Collection of the cultural property of the peoples of our country.

We hope that this work will capture the interest of the general public, and serve the cause of preserving the monuments of Kirghiz history.



## REGIONAL

### FEAR OF DEATH EXTIRPATED 'NOT THROUGH FAITH BUT BY FULL EARTHLY LIFE'

[Editorial Report] Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 28 Aug 83 on pages 2-3 carries an 1,100-word article titled "Happiness on Earthly Road" by V. Nosovich. The article notes that the fear of death animates all human beings yet attacks the comfort given by religion in teaching of eternal life. Nosovich sketches "an alternative way" of facing death with "a philosophic stoicism." However, admitting that such a teaching is not for everyone, Nosovich notes that "the transformation of the common good into the most important element of one's personal life takes away the fear of death or at least lessens it." In addition, the author urges "a high degree of humanism, sensitivity toward people who have found their comfort in belief in a life beyond the grave."

### MURDER OF TEACHER 'COVERED UP' BY LOCAL MVD, DOCTORS

[Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Oct 83 on page 15 carries a 3,900-word article titled "The Diagnosis" by Arkadiy Vaksberg. The article reports on a brutal murder and the ensuing court proceedings in Novocheboksarsk in the Chubash ASSR. While on the way to the market to buy milk for his sick child, a local history teacher was severely beaten by a certain Sadovnikov. The history teacher had accidentally bumper Sadovnikov's car. Sadovnikov took his victim to the hospital and told the medical staff that he had "found this man on the street, drunk." The gravely ill teacher received no medical treatment, for "we do not treat drunks." The wife of the teacher was forced to carry her husband home. Later that day, her husband lapsed into a coma, was taken back to the hospital, and died. However, the story was circulated that the teacher had died owing to his own drunkenness. The murderer, Sadovnikov, was a local sports coach and a deputy of the town soviet. Every effort was made by the local MVD and the hospital staff to support Sadovnikov's claim. The case was not investigated despite numerous witnesses to the actual incident and to the fact that the history teacher was not drunk but an outstanding educator and citizen. The procurator of the Chubash ASSR responded to complaints by claiming that "deputies cannot be hooligans." Ultimately, Sadovnikov was brought to trial, albeit on a charge of "involuntary manslaughter." Sadovnikov's attorney offered up the following defense of his client's actions: "Drivers get very nervous when someone knocks up against their car." The article severely criticizes both the local MVD and the doctors for neglecting their duty: the former in that they never truly investigated the case from the very beginning, while the latter in that they neglected to examine the history teacher, accepted Sadovnikov's word that he was drunk, and released him despite his "obviously fractured skull." The author notes that Sadovnikov has a "steady job as a coach" awaiting him upon his return from Kalinin Oblast.

## REGIONAL

### TURKMEN MVD OFFICIAL ON PASSPORT ABUSE

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 19 Oct 83 on page 4 carries a 300-word article titled "Your Passport Is Not Valid" by N. Golovenko, deputy director of the Passport Section of the Turkmen SSR MVD. The article notes several varieties of passport abuse, including "careless neglect or mistreatment of the document, failure to report the loss of a passport, and failure to update the document." Golovenko notes that sometimes the passport is mistreated intentionally in the hopes that when the document is renewed certain information--such as the registration of marriages or children--will be left off. Golovenko underscores the thoroughness of the renewal process: "Such 'underhandedness' will not succeed. The organs of the militia will establish the truth, and the appropriate punishment will follow."

### NORWEGIAN BAPTIST DELEGATION IN ASHKHABAD

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 22 Oct 83 on page 3 carries a 400-word article titled "'We Must Understand One Another.'" The article summarizes an interview with Jan Larsen, General Secretary of the Baptist Council of Norway, and with other members of the delegation. Describing the itinerary of the trip--which included not only meetings with Ashkhabad Baptists but also visits to various places of interest in the city--Larsen notes: "Our conversations [with our Baptist brethren] were unconstrained and showed a deep sincerity, underscoring the trust and peaceful life of the people." Larsen notes that Baptists occupy important positions in the town and local authorities "presented us with the unlimited possibility of meeting with our brethren. The local officials accorded us much respect and created ideal conditions for our visit." Other members of the delegation spoke on the role Christian churches are playing in the struggle against nuclear war.

CSO: 1830/93

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

NEW AZERBAIJAN COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN--The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers has appointed Guseynov, Vagiv Aliovsat ogly chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Committee for Physical Culture and Sport. [Text]  
[Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 20 Oct 83 p 2]

CSO: 1830/88

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